DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 141 722 CG 011 550

AUTHOR	Seiter, Richard P.
TITLE	Halfway Houses: Phase I Summary Report. National Evaluation Program Series A, Number 11.
INSTITUTION	Ohio State Univ., Columbus.
SPONS AGENCY	National Inst. of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice (Dept. of Justice/LEAA), Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE	Jan 77
GRANT	76-NI-99-0015
NOTE	65p.
AVAILABLE FROM	Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402 (HC $1.20, Stock No. 027-000-00468-7)
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.83 HC-$3.50 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*Community Attitudes; *Community Programs; *Correctional Rehabilitation; *Corrective Institutions; Program Evaluation; Recidivism; *Rehabilitation Centers; Research Projects; *Therapeutic Environment

ABSTRACT

This study of halfway houses is based on the review of 55 evaluations of house programs and the survey of an additional 153 programs. It describes the historical development of halfway houses, their current operations and provides a framework for reconciling theory and operations. A review of existing evaluations suggests some conclusions about halfway houses: (1) houses are as effective in preventing criminal behavior in the community as alternatives which involve community release; (2) the placement of a halfway house in a community neither increases crime nor decreases property values; (3) houses assist their clients in locating employment but not necessarily maintaining it; (4) houses are able to provide for the basic needs of their clients as well as other forms of release; (5) at full capacity, houses cost no more, and probably less, than incarceration, although they cost more than parole and outright release; (6) the available capacity of halfway houses is only partially utilized at present, thus driving up actual per diem costs; (7) and evaluations of halfway houses tend not to produce changes in actual house operations. (Author)

****
* Documents acquired by ERIC include many informal unpublished *
* materials not available from other sources. ERIC makes every effort *
* to obtain the best copy available. Nevertheless, items of marginal *
* reproducibility are often encountered and this affects the quality *
* of the microfiche and hardcopy reproductions ERIC makes available *
* via the ERIC Document Reproduction Service (EDRS). EDRS is not *
* responsible for the quality of the original document. Reproductions *
* supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made from the original. *
****

NATIONAL EVALUATION PROGRAM

Series A
Number 11

CG

ED141722

HALFWAY HOUSES

CG 011550

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

Phase 1 Report

National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice
Law Enforcement Assistance Administration
United States Department of Justice

2

Criminal justice policymakers at all levels of government are hampered by a lack of sound information on the effectiveness of various programs and approaches. To help remedy the problem, the National Institute sponsors a National Evaluation Program to provide practical information on the costs, benefits and limitations of selected criminal justice programs now in use throughout the country.

Each NEP assessment concentrates on a specific "topic area" consisting of groups of on-going projects with similar objectives and strategies. The initial step in the process is a "Phase I" study that identifies the key issues, assesses what is currently known about them, and develops methods for more intensive evaluation at both the national and local level. Phase I studies are not meant to be definitive evaluations; rather, they analyze what we presently know and what is still uncertain or unknown. They offer a sound basis for planning further evaluation and research.

Although Phase I studies are generally short-term (approximately six to eight months), they examine many projects and collect and analyze a great deal of information. To make this information available to state and local decision-makers and others, the National Institute publishes a summary of the findings of each Phase I study. Microfiche or loan copies of the full report are made available through the National Criminal Justice Reference Service, Evaluation Clearinghouse, P.O. Box 24036, S.W. Post Office, Washington, D.C. 20024.

These Phase I reports are now available:

- Operation Identification Projects
- Citizen Crime Reporting Projects
- Specialized Police Patrol Operations
- Neighborhood Team Policing
- Pre-Trial Screening
- Pre-Trial Release
- Treatment Alternatives to Street Crime (TASC)
- Early Warning Robbery Reduction Projects
- Delinquency Prevention
- Alternatives to Incarceration of Juveniles
- Juvenile Diversion
- Citizen Patrol
- Traditional Patrol
- Security Survey Projects
- Halfway Houses

NATIONAL EVALUATION PROGRAM
PHASE I SUMMARY REPORT

HALFWAY HOUSES

By

Richard P. Seiter, Ph. D., Project Director
Eric W. Carlson, M.S.
Helen H. Bowman, M.A.
James J. Grandfield, ACSW
Nancy J. Beran

This project was supported by Grant Number 76 NI-99-0015, awarded to the Ohio State University by the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, U. S. Department of Justice, under the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968, as amended. Points of view or opinions stated in this document are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the official position or policies of the U. S. Department of Justice.

January 1977

National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice
Law Enforcement Assistance Administration
U.S. Department of Justice

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF LAW ENFORCEMENT AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE

Gerald M. Caplan, *Director*

LAW ENFORCEMENT ASSISTANCE ADMINISTRATION

Richard W. Velde, *Administrator*

Paul K. Wormeli, *Deputy Administrator*

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office
Washington, D.C. 20402 - Price $1.20
Stock No. 027-000-00468-7

Abstract

This study of halfway houses is based on the review of fifty-five evaluations of house programs and the survey of an additional one hundred fifty-three programs. It describes the historical development of halfway houses, their current operations and provides a framework for reconciling theory and operations. The study maintains that few methodologically sound evaluations of halfway houses have been completed because of the use of insensitive outcome measures and vague program goals and objectives. A review of existing evaluations suggests some conclusions about halfway houses which include: houses are as effective in preventing criminal behavior in the community as alternatives which involve community release; the placement of a halfway house in a community neither increases crime nor decreases property values; houses assist their clients in locating employment but not necessarily maintaining it; houses are able to provide for the basic needs of their clients as well as other forms of release; at full capacity, houses cost no more, and probably less, than incarceration, although they cost more than parole and outright release; the available capacity of halfway houses is only partially utilized at present, thus driving up actual per diem costs; and evaluations of halfway houses tend not to produce changes in actual house operations.

CONTENTS

Page

Abstract.....iii

List of Illustrations.....vii

Foreword.....ix

Project Staff.....xi

INTRODUCTION..... 1

THE EMERGENCE OF RESIDENTIAL INMATE AFTERCARE..... 3

The Halfway House: History, Perspective, and Issues..... 3

THE PRESENT DAY HALFWAY HOUSE..... 7

Overview..... 7
Scope of Halfway House Operation..... 9
Residential Inmate Aftercare Process..... 9
Referral Process..... 9
Intake Process..... 10
Programming Process..... 11

HALFWAY HOUSE EVALUATION: STATE OF THE ART..... 13

Evaluation Categories..... 13
Evaluation Problems..... 16

HALFWAY HOUSE ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK AND ASSESSMENT..... 20

Introduction..... 20
General Purpose and Sub-Goals..... 22
Provision of Program Services..... 23
Provision of Secure Environment..... 23
Provision of House Support Operations..... 23

MEASUREMENT OF GOAL ACHIEVEMENT..... 24

Measurement of Recidivism..... 25
Measurement of Cost Efficiency..... 26

MEASUREMENT OF SUB-GOAL ACHIEVEMENT..... 28

Program and Treatment Services..... 29
Security and Resident Well-Being..... 32
Administration of the Aftercare Program..... 33

CONTENTS (CONTINUED)

Page

CONCLUSION..... 35

FOOTNOTES..... 38

APPENDICES..... 42

A. Client Flow Narrative..... 42
B. Evaluations Surveyed..... 46
C. Bibliography of Evaluations Surveyed..... 47

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

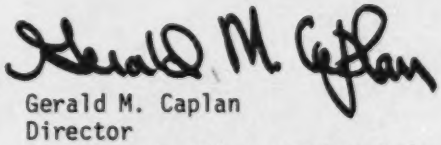
Figure 1.	Client Flow-Generalized Inmate Aftercare Program	14
Figure 2.	Hierarchy of Objectives	20
Figure 3.	Analytical Framework in a Process Model	21
Figure 4.	Hierarchy of Objectives Illustrating Basic Program and Activity Goals	21

Halfway houses have emerged as a significant feature of the corrections process. From a slow beginning in the 1920s, the concept gained momentum during the 1960s as part of the larger movement toward community-based corrections.

According to this study, however, their full potential is not yet being realized. There are now about 400 halfway houses around the country, serving an estimated 10,000 offenders. But the researchers found that occupancy rates varied from a low of 21 percent of capacity to a high of 76 percent. If halfway houses were to operate at full capacity, a projected 30,000 to 40,000 offenders could be served each year.

Given the present overcrowding of prisons, why are halfway houses underutilized? Although this study did not explore the issue in depth, it seems clear that the referral process needs to be improved. Frequently, referring agencies may not even be aware of the existence of the many privately-owned halfway houses.

Improvements in this area would be worth the effort, for it appears that halfway houses are meeting several important goals. One is economy. At full capacity, halfway houses cost no more--and probably less--than incarceration in jail or prison, even though they provide more services. They are at least as effective as other forms of release, and probably more so: There is some evidence that halfway houses do reduce the recidivism rates of former residents, compared to ex-offenders released directly into the community. Halfway house residents also seem to be more successful in locating employment, although not necessarily in maintaining it after release. Finally, community security and property values do not seem to be jeopardized by the presence of a halfway house.



Gerald M. Caplan
Director
National Institute of Law Enforcement
and Criminal Justice

NATIONAL EVALUATION PROGRAM

PHASE I

RESIDENTIAL INMATE AFTERCARE:
THE STATE OF THE ART

Project Staff

Christopher Auth

Israel Barak

Linda Bennett

Martha Brediger

Maurice Breslin

Josephine Ann Colli

William Cooper

Brenda Davidson

Jeannette Edgington

Bonnie Hope

William Ivoska

George Kaitsa

Susan Lowe

Franklin Marshall

Evalyn Parks

Candace Peters

Doretta Petree

Norma Price

Rose Ann Stern

Geri Trecker

Gennaro Vito

HALFWAY HOUSES:

RESIDENTIAL INMATE AFTERCARE

NATIONAL EVALUATION PROGRAM

PHASE I

SUMMARY

Introduction

In March of 1974, the LEAA Evaluation Policy Task Force identified the need for production and dissemination of information on the cost and effectiveness of varying approaches to confronting crime and criminal justice problems. The strategy for a National Evaluation Program was outlined, articulated and implemented by the Office of Research Programs in the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice.

Specifically, goals of the National Evaluation Program include the following:

- To provide a timely, objective, and reliable assessment to Congress and the public of the effectiveness of LEAA's programs.

- To extend present knowledge and technical capability in all aspects of criminal justice.

- To test criminal justice standards and goals, and through critical research, refine and evaluate them.

- To provide criminal justice administrators with relevant information which they can use to administer their programs more effectively.

One of the principal topic areas identified for systematic evaluation is residential aftercare focusing on adult former inmates and inmates approaching release in an attempt to ease the transition between the prison and the community. Such programs provide individualized assistance for ex-offenders with the problems in their return to the community. The programs, commonly called "halfway houses," have been in existence almost since the development of the prison itself, and have perhaps represented the largest growth, by type of correctional programs over the past two decades.

Enormous emphasis has been placed on developing halfway house facilities to ease this transition. Although most early programs were funded by private groups or religious organizations, the federal government has provided the bulk of start-up funds to state and local governments for such programs. From the inception of LEAA until July of 1975, $24,837,512 of Safe Streets Act monies have been matched with $12,300,710 to fund 348 grants devoted to residential inmate aftercare programs for adults.

During August, 1975, the Ohio State University Program for the Study of Crime and Delinquency received a grant to conduct a Phase I analysis of inmate aftercare programs. Over a six-month period, the Program was to determine what is currently known about halfway houses, what additional information could be provided through further evaluation, and what the cost and value would be of obtaining the additional information.

The following is a summary of several reports resulting from the six-month analysis of the present state of the art of inmate aftercare programs. Data have been gathered through telephone interviews, site visits and literature reviews. In addition to this summary, the following reports have been compiled and delivered to the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice:

1. Residential Inmate Aftercare: The State of the Art
2. Phase II Evaluation Design
3. Single Halfway House Evaluation Model
4. Supplement A: Survey of Residential Inmate Aftercare
5. Supplement B: Abstracts of Evaluations Reviewed
6. Supplement C: On-Site Visit Reports

The Emergence of Residential
Inmate Aftercare

The Halfway House: History, Perspective, and Issues

The origins of the halfway house can be traced to the early 1800's, although twentieth century correctional administrators have often, and erroneously, assumed a much more recent emergence. The earliest documentation of the proposal for a halfway house, defined here as a transitional residence for criminal offenders, appears in 1817 in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. The first actual halfway house in the United States did not appear, however, until 1864 when the "Temporary Asylum for Discharged Female Prisoners" opened in Boston. By the early 1920's, houses widely known as "Hope Halls" were in existence in Louisiana, Ohio, Iowa, California, Florida, and Texas.

A major setback in the development and operation of halfway houses occurred between the 1930's and the early 1950's as a result of the depression, the expansion of parole, and the pre-release plan requirement that the offender have a job before release. At the end of this period, however, disenchantment with the rehabilitative potential of the prison joined with the growing conviction that the rehabilitative process necessitates some communication between the institution and the community to launch "the national halfway house movement" of the 1950's. The movement gained momentum in the 1960's, during which time the International Halfway House Association was formed and diversified roles for halfway houses were developed. The impact of the movement has already been such that one observer speculates ". . . by current view it bids fair to become the most memorable development in penology in the second half of the twentieth century."[1]

On the current scene, halfway houses are part of a larger movement toward the establishment of community-based correctional programs. A major stimulus to this movement has been the deepening dissatisfaction with prisons, which are typically characterized by overcrowding of inmates, shortage of staff, lack of programs, and idleness due to lack of constructive work. Furthermore, the President's Task Force on Corrections found that, in 1965, the average cost per adult felon per year in the U. S. was $1,966 in an institution compared to $198 in the community.[2]

Research on the efficacy of institutional rehabilitation has also contributed to the growing disenchantment with prison programs. A review of findings conducted by Sparks led him to the flat conclusion "that institutional treatment is not more effective (in terms of preventing reconvictions) than treatment in the community."[3] Babst and Mannering compared probation and parole violation rates of similar types of Wisconsin offenders and found that, among first offenders the violation rate for parolees was higher than for probationers in five of six criminal classifications.[4] Even more suggestive is Sparks' conclusion that "virtually every study of the after-conduct of offenders placed on probation has found that the majority are not reconvicted within the chosen follow-up period."[5] An even more extreme position has been taken by Hood, who claimed that: "There are indications that fines are more successful than probation or institutional treatment with both first offenders and those with previous convictions in all age groups."[6]

Over and above all this, what is widely regarded as the most devastating critique of institutional corrections is the recent work of Lipton, Martinson, and Wilks, who analyzed 231 reports on attempts at rehabilitation in both the U. S. and abroad between 1945 and 1967. In a preliminary article summarizing the results, Martinson provides data that essentially challenge, if not refute, some of the most commonly-held beliefs in corrections.[7]

Impetus for the development of community-based programs has also come from recent changes in correctional theory. The correctional model associated with the traditional prison-parole cycle is rehabilitation. This model defines correctional workers as therapists and emphasizes their ability to "cure" the offender by resolving his problems and fostering self-understanding and self-assurance. Recently, support has shifted from this rehabilitation model toward the reintegrative model. The latter model focuses on the deleterious effects of isolating the offender from the community and on the need for transitional programs between the institution and the community. The contention is that it is unrealistic to expect an offender to return directly to the community after a period of incarceration and be able to handle the problems of day-to-day living. A similar approach has gained favor in the mental health field and has led to the widespread development of community mental health centers. These programs, which are designed to ease the negative influences of prolonged hospitalization and to treat clients in the community setting, have paralleled and given support to the development of halfway houses within the correctional system.

In the final analysis, community-based inmate aftercare programs are founded on three major propositions: (1) the treatment of offenders in the community is more humane than traditional methods; (2) gradual reintegration in the realistic setting of the community will be more effective than the prison/rehabilitation ideology; and (3) offender reintegration in the community can be accomplished at a cost less than that of incarceration. The first proposition contends that it is more humane to allow an offender to maintain ties with his family and friends, remain in the job market, and not be subject to the unnatural conditions and occurrences prevalent within a group of incarcerated offenders.

The basis for the hypothesis that the utilization of halfway houses would reduce recidivism rates is founded within the general reintegrative philosophy. The transition from the structured and constantly supervised institutional environment to the almost complete freedom of action in the community is seen by many to be a period of confusion, uncertainty and stress for the ex-offender, who, being unable to cope with this situation, is forced to return to what he does "best"--commit crimes. In contrast, the halfway house is said to offer a gradual re-entry, also reintegrative services which assist the resident in getting a meaningful job, raising his educational level, improving his attitude toward himself and others, and increasing his ability to function in his community in a socially acceptable manner.

Another conceptually important factor in the ability of the halfway house to reduce recidivism is the emphasis on community involvement. The reintegrative philosophy is based not only on the premise that the cure for criminality must come from within the community (correctional programs should be located in a normal environment and make use of available community resources), but that the community must also become involved in the reintegrative process.

The third proposition upon which inmate aftercare programs are based contends that offender reintegration in the community can be accomplished at a cost less than that of incarceration. Per bed construction costs for prisons can run up to and beyond $20,000,[8] while a recent estimation of the per bed costs for halfway houses is $1,232.[9] Depending on the services provided, the per diem halfway house cost can range from below to above institutional per diem costs. However, most of the institutional per diem costs go toward basic needs and security, while halfway house costs are generally for basic needs and provision of services.

It is important to note, however, that when a halfway house is used following parole from an institution, it is sometimes more appropriate to compare the cost of parole--the alternative disposition at this point. Comparisons of halfway house costs to institutional costs are only relevant when the house is used on a pre-release basis, prior to the granting of parole or after release if the parolee would not have received parole without being referred to a halfway house.

As the above-described theoretical issues were accepted and planners began the actual implementation of programs founded on such principles, it became obvious that there were several operational issues that needed to be considered. One of the first considerations in the operation of the halfway house is whether the facility should have public or private sponsorship. Although proponents of each view may argue the advantages of their respective positions, a statement by the U. S. Bureau of Prisons on this controversy seems reasonable:

> Despite differing views, it probably matters little whether the management of a center [halfway house] falls under the sponsorship of a public or private agency, or in fact, becomes part of the responsibility of a probation, parole, or correctional institution administrator. Of far greater importance are the quality of programs offered, the competence and integrity of the center's staff and the correctional agencies that use the resource.[10]

The most important variables in this controversy are the cooperative relationship between the halfway house and other components of the criminal justice system and between the halfway house and community resources. The house, whether private or public, must have a good working relationship with both the referring agency and community service agencies. Funding is another important consideration for house operations. It is the responsibility of the planners, administrators and managers to form a realistic budget, to disburse funds in a responsible manner, and to identify funding sources.

The efficient administration of halfway houses is, of course, important because it affects the ability of the house to provide quality services to residents. Whether the administrative umbrella is of a public or private nature, however, is not the major issue. It is important to note that these agencies are "big businesses" with limited resources and must maintain efficient managerial operations to accomplish their objectives.

The importance of the location of the halfway house in a community setting has been firmly established. Doleschal has said,

> The rationale for the halfway house movement is based on the assumption that the inmate is in need of a gradual re-entry into the community, during which he must learn the responsibilities of community life, and this can come about only by actual residence in a community setting.[11] (emphasis added)

A similar position has been adopted by others addressing this issue, including the President's Task Force on Corrections.[12]

Having established the need for the location of the halfway house in the community, the issue then becomes: where in the community should the halfway house be located? One important factor in determining location is community attitude. The reason for the concern with neighborhood reaction is that some halfway houses have been forced either to close and relocate or to relocate before opening at a selected site, although several studies have found the fears of community residents to be unwarranted. Other issues relating to the location of the house include the socio-economic status of the neighborhood, the degree of anonymity of the house, and the accessibility of the house to needed jobs and community agencies. All of these issues can affect the ability of the house to "reintegrate" offenders.

A major operational issue for halfway houses is the type of treatment services provided to residents. Given the small and often intimate atmosphere of most halfway houses, the milieu is usually considered important. It is believed that by recreating a supportive, homelike atmosphere, the resident will be able to adjust to the demands of a job and independence. More specific and recognizable program activities are the counseling sessions and supportive services offered by staff. Although houses can focus on different categories of activities, the general thrust is toward meeting the needs of the client. As Yepsen has indicated, the ex-offender and his needs must be given primary consideration, with particular emphasis placed upon individualized treatment, societal readjustment, the correction of defects, capitalization of assets and retraining of those clients who are nearing release.[13] Ideally, a classification summary should be made and include: (a) what kind of individual the offender really is; (b) how he got the way he is; (c) what his assets are; (d) what his deficiencies and liabilities are and (e) how the assets can be capitalized upon, the deficiencies corrected and the needs be met.[14]

Classical differential treatment usually involves psychological testing, emphasizing individualized attention, and has been primarily used with juvenile offenders. The differential treatment operational in halfway houses differs from that often used with juveniles. The halfway house program focuses on pragmatic aspects of needs and abilities, rather than personality and maturity classification often used with juveniles. The issue the halfway houses must confront is whether to be generalists and accept all categories of offenders or be specialists and focus on providing services to a narrowly-defined group. One argument is that specialized house staff can be more effective with particular categories of clients. Others argue that the purpose of halfway houses should be to accept all categories of offenders, devise appropriate treatment programs for each and locate external agencies to assist with problem resolution. Still others argue for a compromise centered around the notion of program flexibility.

Another issue is the appropriate size of the halfway house. When the most desired size for a halfway house is discussed, four factors emerge which need to be considered. Assuming sufficient demand for service, these concern: (1) per diem costs, (2) the therapeutic effect, (3) community relations and (4) the availability of sites. Managers must weigh each of these factors in terms of the individual situation, consider the type of program desired and determine the most appropriate size for the environment.

Another issue for halfway houses is the availability of qualified staff. The amount and type of staff needed for a halfway house program are dependent on a number of factors: (1) the type and needs of the clients served by the program; (2) the size of the program; (3) the goals and objectives of the program and (4) the availability of community resources to supplement the program's resources. Once these factors have been identified, the ideal halfway house should utilize a balance of professionals, para-professionals, students, volunteers and ex-offenders to fill various positions within the program.[15] In addition, all halfway house staff should receive specialized training, including orientation, in-service, and academic training.

Accreditation of correctional programs is presently an important issue. Therefore, it is important to examine current prescribed standards and goals for halfway houses. The development of specific standards and goals for halfway houses began about the same time as the development of those directed toward the entire correctional system. As many groups and individuals, some with little or no knowledge of the reintegrative needs of the ex-offender, began to establish halfway house programs, the need for guidelines and standards for halfway houses was recognized by the International Halfway House Association (IHHA).[16] Guidelines were developed with the aim of encouraging effective programs and facilitating the IHHA goals of accreditation of halfway houses. These Guidelines, although not the "last word" on halfway house operations are the most complete currently available.

The Standards developed by the IHHA are divided into three categories: administration, program and personnel. Administration standards involve making the program a legal entity and establishing operational policies. Program standards include requirements for the physical facility with respect to size, governmental regulations, location and offender programming. The program should include educational, vocational counseling, and recreational opportunities. It is also recommended that the offender participate in all decisions about his own reintegration program and that the individual be apprised of all decisions and evaluations made about him while he is in the program.

The Present Day Halfway House

Overview

Contemporary halfway houses in the United States bear an amazingly close resemblance to those of the 1800's in terms of overall structure and goals. On the other hand, whereas houses of the past served the

limited functions of post-release housing and job placement for only the most estranged criminal offenders, today's halfway houses provide a multitude of programs and services for a variety of clients, the most frequent of which are: the mandatory releasee and parolee, the probationer, the pre-releasee, study and diagnostic services to offenders, use for individuals with special difficulties, and use for juveniles.

Although halfway houses are being utilized for all of the activities described above, the traditional and most frequent use of houses is to provide supportive services to the released inmate. The focus for this particular project, therefore, was on the halfway house as a transitional residence for offenders returning to the community following release from a state or federal correctional institution.

The rationale for inmate aftercare programs has been addressed by Pearce who states that ". . . men leaving prison face countless fundamental problems. . .men must be prepared, both materially and emotionally, in order to bridge the gap between life inside and that outside the prison walls."[17] Pearce contends that halfway houses should provide a home, assistance in vocational counseling/training and finding employment, financial support, education/recreational opportunities, psychological and emotional support/counseling and a supportive environment.[18]

Focusing on the characteristics of clients, Trojanowiecz emphasizes that a resident utilizing a halfway house with potential success should have the ability to work out his problems in a group situation, be willing to become actively involved in one of the academic or vocational programs, be motivated and be able to tolerate the closeness of the group situation.[19]

The treatment philosophies most prevalent in contemporary halfway houses are milieu therapy, reality therapy, group therapy, and behavior modification. Bailey maintains that most correctional treatment programs are based on some combination of four premises with regard to the offender's major problem. The sick premise focuses on therapy, the group relations premise on interactions with associates, the deficit premise on occupational skills, and the activity premise on leisure time and recreation.[20]

In summary, the functions of a modern halfway house as defined in this project are as follows:

> The halfway house accepts ex-offenders released from prison, provides the basic necessities of room and board, and attempts to determine each individual's reintegration problems, plan a program to remedy these problems, and provide supportive staff to assist the resident in resolving problems and returning to society as a law-abiding citizen.

Scope of Halfway House Operations

Specifically, data generated during this study indicate that halfway houses are emerging as an important and significant element in the American correctional system. It was found that there are approximately four hundred facilities in the United States which operate as halfway houses, and that nearly half of this total serve offenders during their transition from incarceration to the community. The data cited below were gathered from transitional houses, but might reasonably be expected to apply to all houses. Houses which focus on aftercare were located in all states except Arkansas, Delaware, Idaho, Mississippi, Montana, New Mexico, North Dakota, South Dakota and Wyoming. These houses ranged in size from six to one hundred forty beds with an average of twenty-five. Based on this average, a projection of a total bed capacity of 10,000 for all four hundred halfway houses is not unreasonable. The average length of stay at the houses ranges from eight to sixteen weeks with a mean lying near twelve. Combining these two findings it can be estimated that all halfway houses have the potential capacity to serve from 30,000 to 40,000 persons per year if current operating practices are maintained and capacity is efficiently utilized.

Residential Inmate Aftercare Process

This section provides a description of the inmate aftercare process as it actually occurs in the United States. Data were collected from one hundred fifty-three telephone interviews with directors of inmate aftercare projects across the United States and from thirty site visits to selected inmate aftercare projects. The data presented here are a distillation which is representative of the vast majority of facilities commonly known as "halfway houses" and operating as residential inmate aftercare facilities.

There are three basic functions which occur to varying degrees in all the programs surveyed: referral, intake and programming.

Referral Process

At its most general level, the referral function is the directing of potential clients to the halfway house. Referral does not imply acceptance into the house program, it implies only an interest in the program for a particular offender on the part of the offender himself, the halfway house or institutional staff or an interested party. The actual referral process varies among houses and referral agents and can be quite complicated.

One important factor in the referral process is the relationship of the house to the criminal justice system, particularly the correctional institution from which offenders are referred. Of importance here is the degree to which relations between the house and the institution are close and formal. For houses which operate primarily as work release or pre-release centers for particular institutions (which generally occurs with public agencies) and have close ties to them,[21] the referral process is often totally controlled by the institutional staff.

Houses with close, formal ties with institutions have very little, if any, control over the individuals referred to them. On the other hand, such houses do not face the necessity of recruiting referrals since the latter flow almost automatically to them.

In contrast to houses of this type, there are a large number of halfway houses which are private operations and do not enjoy a close formal relationship with correctional institutions.[22] These houses exist on the periphery of the traditional criminal justice system and for them, the referral function is most critical. Houses of this sort must rely on informal relationships with criminal justice system personnel which are established both through direct contact with persons who can act as referral sources and through less direct contact in the form of more traditional public relations effort. The referral function typically requires a great deal of effort from house staff, especially for newer houses. Balancing out this problem, however, is the fact that the non-institutionally affiliated house has a greater number of potential referral sources than does the house closely tied to an institution.

Overall, the referral process is critical to the operation of a halfway house, particularly if its associations with the traditional criminal justice system are indirect and informal. Interestingly enough, however, most houses devote only a small portion of their personnel time to the referral process. This is because they are often short of staff, and first priority for staff time is providing services to present clients.

Intake Process

The intake process commences when house staff begin evaluating a client who has been referred to the halfway house. This process includes all the activities aimed at orienting the client to the rules, regulations, goals, and philosophy of the house program. The process culminates with the acceptance of a client by the house. A useful continuum for discussing the intake process rests on the concept of supportive and interventive houses suggested by Koslin, et al. They suggest that:

> "In general, supportive community residency programs, or halfway houses, tended to have professional staff, offered few, if any counseling services, and were geared toward resource identification for offenders."

while;

> "Interventive residences. . .had a relatively large number of professional staff, extensive counseling services, and were geared to providing an intervention system for its residents."[23]

In supportive houses, the intake function focuses on whether the client is in need of the support the house has to offer, and if he is capable of utilizing this support for his own benefit. He must have some personal resources of his own. The resources considered critical variables affecting his potential success in the house include: the level and extent of family and community ties, the potential for employment and/or skill development, mental health, physical condition, level of motivation to seek and hold employment, desire to succeed in the community, and level of savings. House staff attempt to assess these resources through interviews and institutional records.

In interventive houses, concerned with "treating" the client's deficiencies of personality and social adjustment, the intake process is focused on diagnosis and classification. "Treatment programs" tend to require large amounts of staff. Within these programs, staff may become specialists, either with a certain type of offender or specific program function.

On the basis of this evaluation and focusing on the match of the client's needs versus resources available to the house, a decision regarding the acceptance or rejection of the client is made. Following this, the specific intake activities vary between houses, although most include an orientation to the rules, regulations, and philosophy of the house and an intake interview. Residency patterns during the orientation plan also vary; however, clients are often initially restricted to the house for a fixed time period ranging from two to thirty days.

Programming Process

The programming process is difficult to sub-divide, because the entire process is devoted to a single goal: reintegrating the offender into the community. In practice, the steps listed below cannot be clearly separated; however, in this report they are treated separately to enhance the clarity of discussion.

Development of the program plan: Programming begins with the development of a plan with objectives and quite often time frames for the client to follow during his stay at the halfway house. The plan can be formal and presented as a contract, or informal and exist as an "understanding" between the house and the client. Most houses pride themselves on individualizing the plan to the needs of a particular client, although occasionally houses require all residents to adhere to a single plan. The plan initially consists of goals, objectives and means (which are continuously developed) for achieving the goals. Objectives range from quite vague such as "no serious behavioral incidents" to specific such as to "find and hold employment for six months." The means for achieving objectives are frequently implicit, and must be inferred from the services which the house offers to its clients. There is a trend, however, to explicitly spell out means so that the clients will have no misunderstanding concerning their required performance while at the house.

Service Provision and Client Participation: After the plan has been developed, the resident and the staff concentrate on accomplishing stated objectives. Plan fulfillment requires the provision of services which the house either offers itself or arranges through outside community agencies. Interpersonal counseling is the most frequently offered in-house service with employment counseling and placement ranking second. Vocational testing is the community agency service most frequently utilized by halfway houses, with vocational skill training ranking second. In terms of client utilization of available community resources, employment counseling and placement ranks first, followed by recreation, vocational testing, and financial assistance and counseling in that order. Overall, the data tend to indicate a heavy concentration on interpersonal counseling and services related to employment counseling and placement. Interpersonal counseling tends to be offered within the house; vocational, educational and employment services are most frequently provided by community agencies.

Regardless of the philosophy of the house, or the extent of services provided, the mechanics of participation in the program are similar. The clients must observe at least minimum security requirements, often by checking in and out. They must maintain their rooms and possessions in suitable condition. House duties must be performed. Counseling and therapy sessions must be attended. Jobs must be found and then maintained through dependability and good performance. Undesirable behaviors must be avoided. Positive attitudes have to be developed and displayed. During the participation period the interaction between the house staff and residents is often close and intense, with the staff providing the services, the client reacting to them, and both attempting to achieve program plan objectives.

Review of Client Participation and Progress: The continuancy evaluation is the process of reviewing a client's progress in the halfway house program. This evaluation can result in the client remaining at the halfway house, modifying his program, being sanctioned within the house, being evicted from the house, or leaving the house as a complete or partial success. The actual process of evaluation is continuous, but the decision which results from the evaluation is usually made only periodically, unless the client loses his job or commits a crime.

For most halfway houses, review is conducted during regular staff meetings. Reviews can occur as frequently as daily; however, weekly, biweekly or monthly review is more common. A wide variety of information sources feed into the review process, with staff reports of client behavior and employer reports of job progress the two most frequently used sources. Some of the less common sources of information are the police, staff members of other agencies serving the halfway house clientele, grade cards, payroll check stubs, and client self-reports.

The Release Decision and Process: The release decision is based on information generated during the evaluation process and the client's actual preparations to leave the house. The need for staff to consider release is likely to be triggered by a specific event such as exceeding the "average stay" or achieving program plan goals and objectives. The actual decision to release whether made by the staff, the client, or both, implies that the client's progress in the program has been compared with what is considered his potential for progress and any discrepancy is minimal.

If release is to the community, the client, often with help from the halfway house staff, locates and prepares suitable housing. If the client is on parole or probation, he prepares a release plan which includes employment, housing, education and financial plans for the future. Interestingly, the client's handling of these final tasks at the halfway house are often used as the terminal criteria for judging his readiness for release.

Follow-up: There are three reasons for a house attempting to provide follow-up services or maintain contact with former residents. First, there are situations where services offered to clients following their release may prevent their encountering further legal troubles. Second, it is important for research and evaluation purposes to be aware of the behavior of ex-residents. Third, there are situations where a client has been prematurely released or has encountered difficulties which suggest that he might profit from returning to the program.

Despite these rationales, client follow-up is generally rather poorly defined and executed. Due to the shortage of staff and resources, minimal effort is devoted to the process and consequently returns from efforts are low.

Figure 1 illustrates the detailed client flows through a generalized inmate aftercare program. It defines the functions discussed above in terms of critical processes and decisions. (For a narrative of Figure 1 see Appendix A.)

Halfway House Evaluation: State of the Art

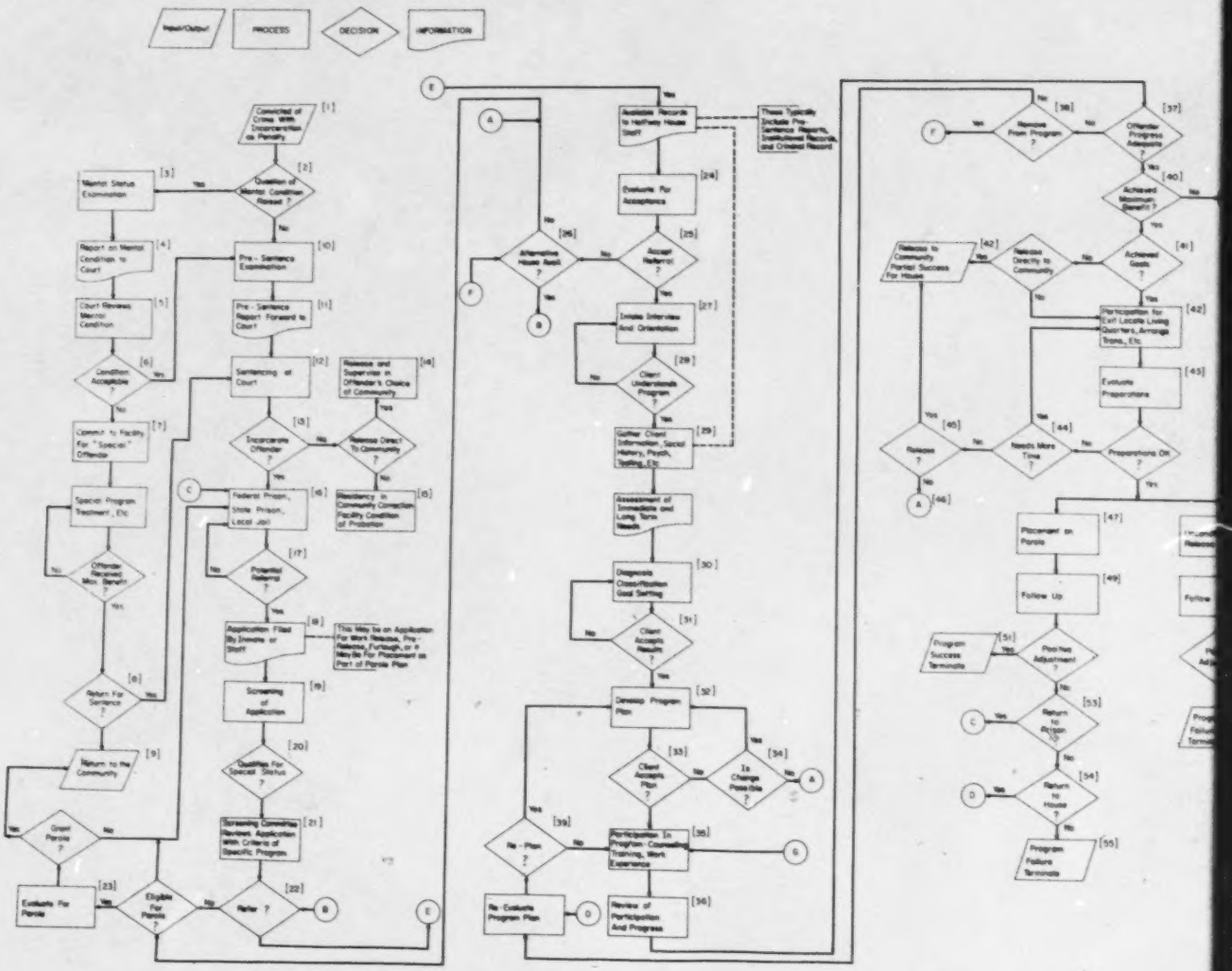
The following discussion attempts to clarify the present state of the art for evaluations of halfway houses in corrections by identifying the factors which have affected the development of evaluations efforts. The first section categorizes and tabulates the evaluations and evaluative research endeavors which have been conducted. The second section cites the general methodological concerns integral to applied research of social programs and the specific problems encountered in halfway house research and evaluation.

Evaluation Categories

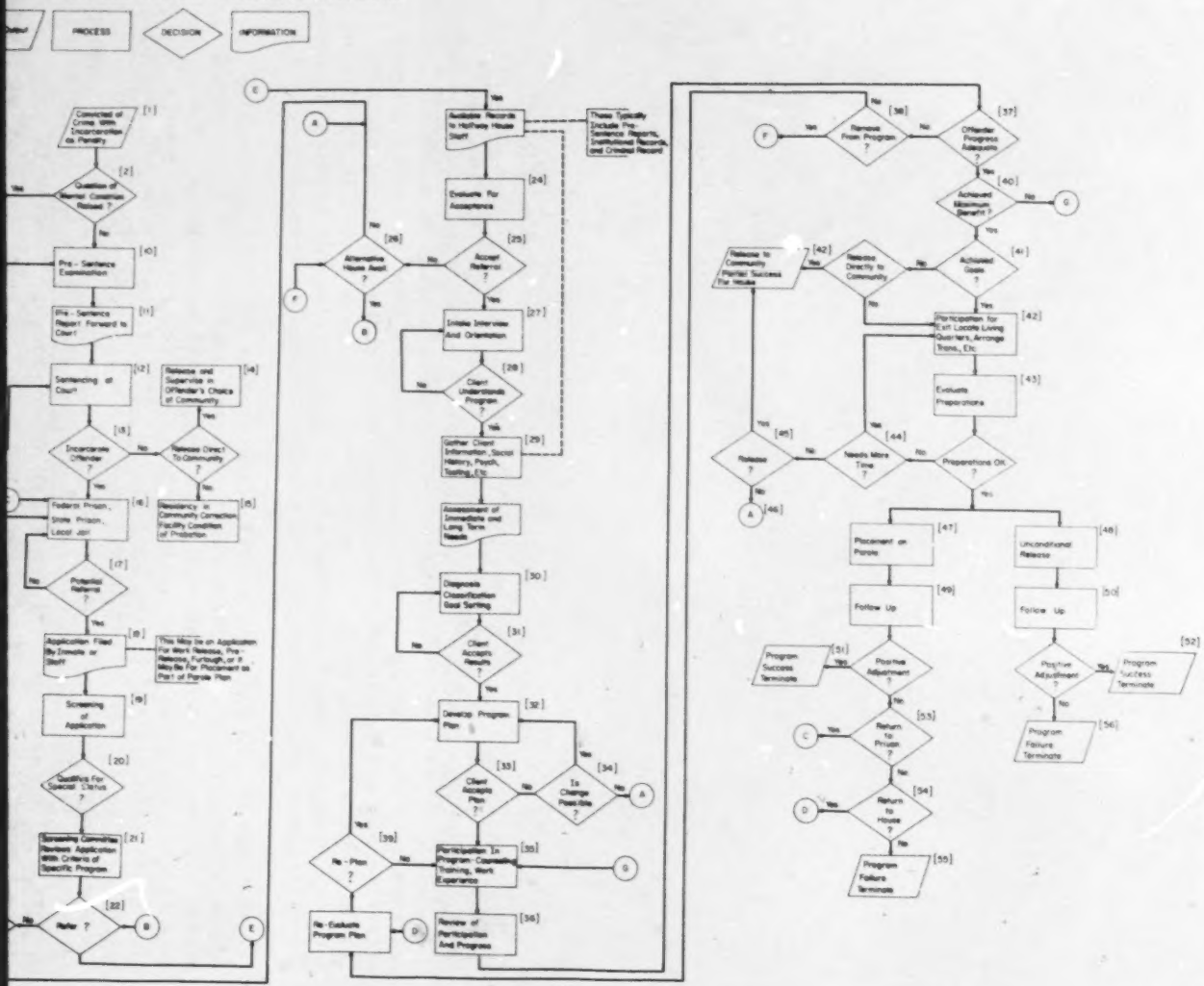
A review and summary of halfway house evaluations and evaluative research was effected through a literature search, requests for information from criminal justice agencies, researchers in the corrections field and members of the residential inmate aftercare NEP Advisory Committee. From these sources fifty-five "evaluation" studies and reports have been collected. A typology based upon outcome measures used to assess program effectiveness was developed. The categories which have emerged include (1) in-program success rate, (2) post-program success (which is subdivided into experimental, quasi-experimental and non-experimental research designs), (3) efficiency analysis and (4) descriptive/subjective assessments.

Reviews of the fifty-five evaluative studies of adult residential inmate aftercare programs in corrections were completed. A large number of the studies are empirical with a few subjective assessments. The selection of the studies was guided, though not restricted, by sample characteristics defined by the project: adult residential inmate aftercare programs. The outcome determinants of the studies were classified into four categories, although a number of studies involve more than one outcome determinant.[24] The first category, in-program success rates, consists primarily of non-experimental empirical observations. Studies in this category consist mainly of frequency tabulations or percentages of successful/unsuccessful completers of the halfway house program. This outcome determinant is alternately referred to in the studies as success rate, termination status, program completion or graduation. The outcome in these studies is primarily measured in a dichotomous fashion (e.g., success-failure, favorable termination-unfavorable termination). Several studies, however, used additional outcome categories in assessing program outcome (e.g., partial

CLIENT FLOW - GENERALIZED INMATE AFTERCARE PROGRAM


Input/Output
PROCESS
DECISION
INFORMATION
Convicted of Crime With Incarceration as Penalty [1]
Question of Mental Condition Raised ? [2]
Mental Status Examination [3]
Report on Mental Condition to Court [4]
Court Reviews Mental Condition [5]
Condition Acceptable ? [6]
Commit to Facility For "Special" Offender [7]
Special Program Treatment, Etc
Offender Received Min. Benefit ?
Return For Sentence ? [8]
Return to the Community [9]
Grant Parole ?
Evaluate For Parole [23]
Eligible For Parole ?
Pre - Sentence Examination [10]
Pre - Sentence Report Forward to Court [11]
Sentencing at Court [12]
Incarcerate Offender ? [13]
Release and Supervise in Offender's Choice of Community [14]
Release Direct To Community ?
Residency in Community Correction Facility Condition of Probation [15]
Federal Prison, State Prison, Local Jail [16]
Potential Referral ? [17]
Application Filed By Inmate or Staff [18]
This May be an Application For Work Release, Pre-Release, Furlough, or it May Be For Placement as Part of Parole Plan
Screening of Application [19]
Qualifies For Special Status ? [20]
Screening Committee Reviews Application with Criteria of Specific Program [21]
Refer ? [22]
Available Records to Halfway House Staff
These Typically Include Pre-Sentence Reports, Institutional Records, and Criminal Record
Evaluate For Acceptance [24]
Accept Referral ? [25]
Alternative House Avail. ? [26]
Intake Interview And Orientation [27]
Client Understands Program ? [28]
Gather Client Information, Social History, Psych. Testing, Etc [29]
Assessment of Immediate and Long Term Needs
Diagnosis Class/Position Goal Setting [30]
Client Accepts Results ? [31]
Develop Program Plan [32]
Client Accepts Plan ? [33]
Is Change Possible ? [34]
Re - Plan ? [35]
Participation In Program: Counseling, Training, Work Experience
Review of Participation And Progress [36]
Re-Evaluate Program Plan
Offender Progress Adequate ? [37]
Remove From Program ? [38]
Achieved Maximum Benefit ? [40]
Achieved Goals ? [41]
Release to Community Partial Success For House [42]
Release Directly to Community ?
Participation for Self Locate Living Quarters, Arrange Trans., Etc [42]
Evaluate Preparations [43]
Preparations OK ? [44]
Needs More Time ? [45]
Release ? [46]
Placement on Parole [47]
Follow Up [49]
Program Success Terminate [51]
Positive Adjustment ? [52]
Return to Prison ? [53]
Return to House ? [54]
Program Failure Terminate [55]

GENERALIZED INMATE AFTERCARE PROGRAM


PROCESS
DECISION
INFORMATION
Convicted of Crime With Incarceration as Penalty
Question of Mental Competency Raised ?
Pre - Sentence Examination
Pre - Sentence Report Forward to Court
Sentencing of Court
Release and Supervise in Offender's Choice of Community
Incarcerate Offender ?
Release Direct To Community ?
Federal Prison, State Prison, Local Jail
Residency in Community Correction Facility Condition of Probation
Parole Referral ?
Application Filed By Inmate or Staff
This May Be an Application For Work Release, Pre - Release, Furlough, or It May Be For Placement as Part of Parole Plan
Screening of Application
Qualifies For Special Status ?
Screening Committee Reviews Application With Criteria of Specific Program
Refer ?
Available Records to Halfway House Staff
Those Typically Include Pre-Sentence Reports, Institutional Records, and Criminal Record
Evaluate For Acceptance
Accept Referral ?
Alternative House Avail. ?
Initial Interview And Orientation
Client Understands Program ?
Gather Client Information (Social History, Psych. Testing, Etc.)
Assessment of Immediate and Long Term Needs
Diagnosis Classification Goal Setting
Client Accepts Needs ?
Develop Program Plan
Client Accepts Plan ?
Is Change Possible ?
Re - Plan ?
Re - Evaluate Program Plan
Participation In Program (Counseling, Training, Work Experience)
Review of Participation And Progress
Remove From Program ?
Offender Progress Adequate ?
Achieved Minimum Benefit ?
Release to Community Parole Success Far Future
Release Directly to Community
Achieved Goals ?
Participation for Exit Locate Living Quarters, Arrange Trans., Etc
Evaluate Preparations
Release ?
Needs More Time ?
Preparations OK ?
Placement on Parole
Unconditional Release
Follow Up
Follow Up
Program Success Terminate
Positive Adjustment ?
Positive Adjustment ?
Program Success Terminate
Return to Prison ?
Return to House ?
Program Failure Terminate
Program Failure Terminate

success or neutral termination) or further defined the categories in behavioral terms. The majority of the studies in this category provided little if any operationalization of program success rate, other than the implied transference from the halfway house to the community or to parole status. Those studies that did define in-program success rate, did so in terms of meeting certain goals or objectives[25] (in some cases by fulfilling a contract or progressing through specific phases). The most common objectives were posed in terms of the following: (1) job placement, or training/educational enrollment, (2) residing at the house for a specified period of time, (3) accumulated savings, (4) development or improvement of social problem-solving skills and (5) abiding by house rules and regulations (including no criminal activity).

The second classification is post-program success which is subdivided into those outcome determinants which are measured by experimental or quasi-experimental[26] design and those which are measured by non-experimental methods. In the majority of these programs, the outcome is measured by recidivism (or criminal behavior) or by positive measures of community adjustment (particularly, employment status, with somewhat less emphasis on behavioral and attitude adjustment).

The third category, efficiency analysis, assesses cost effectiveness or capacity utilization. Several studies were reviewed which focused on a comparative analysis of the cost of halfway houses relative to institutional cost. Usually the outcome was measured in terms of per diem costs. Integral to this analysis is a determination of capacity utilization or rate of occupancy. Per diems are sometimes projected for the more efficient (in most cases) eighty-five percent rate of occupancy. Several in-program success rate studies also included per diem assessments, not always with comparison figures for corresponding institutions, however.

The fourth classification involves a number of studies which used descriptive or subjective assessments of the effectiveness or impact of the halfway house. Several of these administered questionnaires to staff and/or residents to obtain an in-house assessment of the program. Other studies were forms of surveys to determine community attitude toward the halfway house. Also, several on-site evaluations were collected which usually took the form of interviews followed by a descriptive assessment with recommendations.

Of the fifty-five halfway house evaluative studies reviewed, twenty-four addressed the success (or program completion) rate within the programs. Thirteen reports assessed the efficiency of the halfway house program, primarily in terms of cost. Post-program success or impact was focused upon in thirty-five studies; sixteen of these studies were non-experimental although empirical in nature, seventeen used quasi-experimental designs; two studies utilized experimental designs with random assignment to conditions. In the remaining category, there were eleven subjective or descriptive assessments. These studies included several on-site subjective evaluations, some staff or client questionnaire assessments of aspects of the halfway house program and surveys primarily concerned with neighborhood or community assessment of the halfway house. (See Appendix B for a crosstabulation of evaluations by house affiliation, type of evaluation

design and evaluating agency and a bibliography of the evaluations reviewed.)

Evaluation Problems

Program evaluation can be defined as the measurement of the achievement of a program's goal(s). This definition necessitates the identification and operationalization of those goals to facilitate their measurement. Further, in order for this definition to be useful, the methods used to measure goal achievement must be ". . . sufficiently precise, valid, and reliable to warrant confidence that they improve the quality of knowledge available for guiding policy makers."[27] Inadequate goal clarity is a prevalent problem in evaluation and research. The criterion used for measuring halfway house program effectiveness has primarily been recidivism. Recently, however, the validity of using recidivism rates (especially as a dichotomous measure) as the only measure to evaluate program effectiveness has been questioned.[28] The use of recidivism as a dichotomous measure (success/failure) has not proven to be a sensitive measure of a program's achievement of goals. Conrad[29] indicates that:

> Three main factors should be considered in developing recidivism statistics: the nature of events to be counted, categorization of the behaviors and degrees of seriousness to be included, and duration of the follow-up period.

However, the importance of measuring the effect of correctional programs on subsequent criminal activity is emphasized strongly across the criminal justice system. Thus, in using recidivism as one of several measures, Conrad[30] indicates that it should be defined in reconviction terms. Operationally, recidivism would be measured by

> . . . (1) criminal acts that resulted in conviction by a court, when committed by individuals who are under correctional supervision or who have been released from correctional supervision within the previous three years, and by (2) technical violations of probation or parole in which a sentencing or paroling authority took action that resulted in the offender's legal status.[31]

Seiter[32] and Moberg and Ericson,[33] however, note the need for a continuous rather than dichotomous measure of recidivism and cite several studies which utilized severity of offense scales. Thus, it is emphasized that ". . . outcome measures need to be sufficiently sensitive to detect gradual changes in attitude and/or behavior."[34] Consequently, future evaluations should employ continuous measures of recidivism in conjunction with measures of intermediate goal attainment and positive measures of community adjustment.

In discussion of intermediate goal attainment Vasoli and Fahey[35] note that vocational rehabilitation leading to stable employment is now the more prevalent variable measured. It is reported that vocational rehabilitation can (1) prepare ex-offenders for careers which will help them become self-sustaining, (2) motivate and train ex-offenders to enter accepted avenues of employment seeking upward mobility and (3) reduce recidivism when used in conjunction with supplementary services (e.g.,

counseling, group therapy). Seiter[36] developed an Acceptable Behavior Scale to measure adjustment behavior in the community. The emphasis of the scale is

> . . . on work or educational stability, although self-improvement qualities, financial responsibility, parole or probation progress, and absence of critical incidents or illegal activities are also included.[37]

Together, the Acceptable Behavior Scale and Criminal Behavior Severity Index[38] form a measure of halfway house program effectiveness termed "Relative Adjustment." Along these same lines, Ward[39] lists five measurable outcomes which he feels are indicative of an effective halfway house program:

1. improved parolee performance on civilian jobs or simply maintaining employment;
2. "relating" more effectively to caseworkers, correctional officers, parole agents or wives;
3. committing fewer or less serious crimes or staying out longer on parole than previous releases;
4. showing evidence of a strengthened ego; and
5. development of greater "emotional stability."

Many halfway houses measure in-house program effectiveness by "success rate" or positive termination from the halfway house program, usually defined by explicit objectives which a resident must meet in order to be released from the program. There are some general categories of objectives common to most halfway house programs. These include (1) a change in behaviors and attitudes to meet the norm set by the house, (2) capability of effectively communicating and relating to significant others, (3) employment or enrollment in an educational or training program, (4) financial responsibility and (5) community adjustment.

Of the twenty-four studies which looked at in-program success rate, the most common presentation of results took the form of percentages. The percentages generally represented the program completion rate of residents during a given period. Less frequently, the percentage or frequency of failures, partial successes, walkaways or absconds, returns to prison and neutrals or no status were also cited depending upon the study. Success rates cited in the twenty-four reports averaged sixty-one percent. The range of in-program success rates reported was twenty-six percent to ninety-three percent. Caution should be used in interpreting the mean success rate. The majority of the studies do not identify the criteria used to define "success" or program completion. Also, the types of program, types of residents and time of the study vary immensely.

A major methodological consideration concerns the rigor of experimental designs (particularly, randomized assignments of individuals to groups) which results in confidence in the validity of the research and, therefore, in confidence in the information provided upon which to base policy decisions. It is not always possible, however, to randomly assign individuals to groups in the real world. Thus, quasi-experimental designs have become

more frequent. "Quasi-experiments have the advantage of being practical when conditions prevent true experimentation."[40] Quasi-experimental designs vary in what they do and do not control. Thus, interpretation of the results and drawing of conclusions must be made carefully, taking into consideration what has and has not been controlled. The non-experimental design studies in this classification focused primarily on follow-up assessments of former residents. The ". . . inherent weakness is that they fail to control for many of the rival explanations (that observed changes were caused by something other than the program)."[41] A large number of the evaluative studies collected fall into the classification of post-program success (non-experimental design). The reasons for the use of non-experimental designs include the relative ease of implementation, inaccessibility to comparison groups, lack of resources, and "current federal practices"[42] of using one-time ex post facto assessments as evaluations of major social programs (due to the desire for short-term, quick results).

> Cost-benefit analysis is often viewed as an alternative to evaluation research. But essentially it is a logical extension of it. In order to affix dollar values to the benefits of a program, first there has to be some evaluative evidence of what kinds and how much benefit there has been.[43]

Suchman[44] subdivides evaluation into three types: effect, effort and efficiency. Cost effectiveness is an example of efficiency evaluation. There has been much controversy surrounding cost-benefit analysis. Specifically, the problem focuses upon the inability or lack of knowledge available to quantify the intangible benefits of a social program. It has been stated that "The purpose of cost-effectiveness analysis is to maximize an economic efficiency or a social welfare objective(s) or some combination of both."[45] Very few studies have attempted an in-depth cost-benefit analysis as described above by Matthews et al.[46] The reasons for such few cost-benefit evaluations include the problem of quantifying the intangible benefits of a social program, the questionability of such analyses being defined as "evaluations" and the various methods used to determine costs and cost comparisons.

Several other methodological problems and considerations were encountered in reviewing social program evaluative research in general and halfway house evaluations specifically which include:

1. duration of follow-up
2. comparability of experimental and control groups
3. adequate sample size
4. clear delineation of the research questions or hypotheses
5. concise, easily understood presentation of the data and results
6. conclusions and discussion should be consistent with the results
7. appropriateness of statistical tests
8. discussion of limitations or problems encountered
9. discussion of implications for future research
10. consideration of historical or programmatic factors affecting the comparison group
11. discussion of the assumptions underlying the hypotheses and their relation to the variables tested.

Additionally, it was found that few of the evaluations or research studies scrutinized previous efforts or built upon the results of past endeavors. This is an unfortunate waste of time, energy and knowledge. It is hoped and recommended that future evaluation efforts will review and capitalize upon the information available from past endeavors.

Also, it is imperative that the information and results being accumulated to date be utilized and applied to present halfway house programs and policies. Specifically, the wealth of correlational data should provide halfway houses with some basis for differential treatment programs for specific types of offenders.

Although halfway houses have been a primary force in the change in correctional philosophy from institutional to community-based programs, there have been few comprehensive evaluations measuring their efficiency. The relatively limited amount of "good" evaluative research on halfway houses seem to be the result of several factors. Such factors as lack of money and resources, use of recidivism as the measure of effectiveness, problems of random assignment, subject mortality, design inadequacies, goal operationalization and philosophy ambiguity have hindered conclusions concerning the success and effectiveness of halfway houses in corrections.

Pettibone[47] has emphasized the need for

> . . . a substantial body of evaluative research on the effectiveness of different program processes with different types of offenders, with different categories of treaters who may be involved and under different treatment situations.

This emphasis is being echoed by funding sources, correctional field professionals and citizens. The need for systematic evaluative research which utilizes good design, randomization, control groups, adequately operationalized variables and consideration of intervening variables is being stressed by various sources:

> This is necessary because those in the field of corrections and governmental funding agencies are increasingly inquiring into the quality of such programs, and also because halfway house administrators cannot afford to base programmatic judgments on "cumulative experience" or "intuition." Virtually the whole field of criminal justice has always been in this position. Halfway houses must avoid this vicious circle of perpetuating something which may well be ineffective or not changing a program which is not as effective as it could be.[48]

Thus, what once were considered innovative demonstration projects in community-based corrections must now be evaluated to determine how effective they have proven to be.

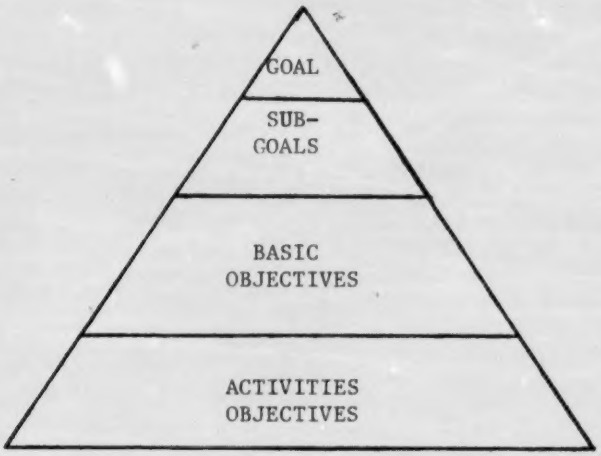
Halfway House Analytical Framework and Assessment

Introduction

The analytical framework for the assessment of residential inmate aftercare programs (halfway houses) consists of the linking of goals, objectives and activities with relevant assumptions. In addition, appropriate evaluative methods and points of measurement, as well as external factors affecting measurements are delineated.

The framework can be graphically presented either as a hierarchy of objectives or as a general process of operations. The objectives hierarchy (Figure 2) includes several levels; each level is linked to those above and below it. The various levels are defined as illustrated:

FIGURE 2



- A statement of purpose under which the halfway house operates.
- The critical factors required for achieving the purpose.
- Specific and conceptually measurable objectives related to in-house objectives to be accomplished in light of the house purpose.
- Activities designed to accomplish client program objectives.

Figure 3 presents the framework in the form of a process model. In addition to the elements of the objectives hierarchy which feed into the aftercare process, this model also includes environmental influences impinging on the process, and the ex-offenders who are the inputs to the process. These additional considerations yield a framework which is adequate for evaluation without being overly broad.

After review of relevant literature, discussions with knowledgeable persons in the aftercare field, and discussions with program managers, the following statement of purpose or goal of halfway houses has been determined:

> Assist in the reintegration of ex-offenders by increasing their ability to function in a socially acceptable manner and reducing their reliance on criminal behavior.

Figure 3

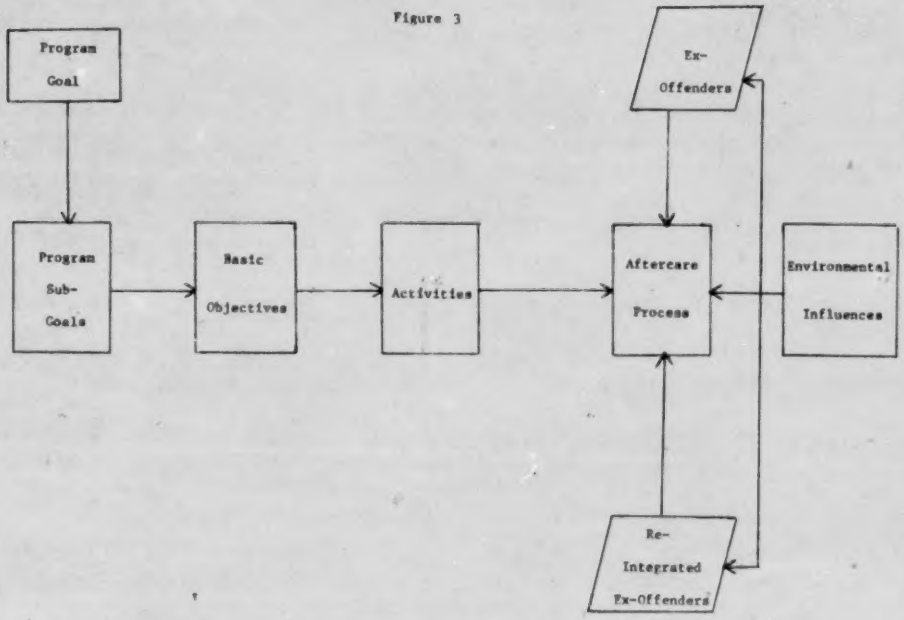
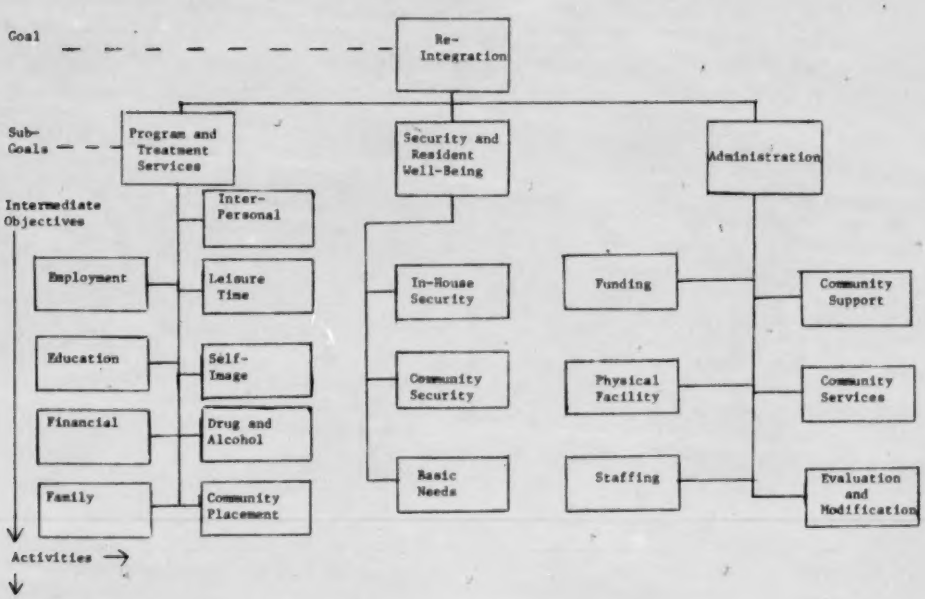


Figure 4

Hierarchy of Objectives



To accomplish this purpose, halfway houses have adopted three sub-goals. These sub-goals are general in nature, and oriented toward operations within houses.

- To provide clients with program and treatment services directed toward reducing the disadvantages and problems of returning to the community after a period of incarceration.

- To provide a sufficiently secure environment for clients, designed both to safeguard the community by reducing the opportunity for unobserved deviant behavior, and to ensure the clients' health and well-being.

- To provide the necessary support for operations of the house, and to allocate resources among house functions in the most efficient manner.

Basic program and activity objectives are illustrated in the objectives hierarchy (Figure 4) and later detailed in separate sub-goal sections. House purposes and sub-goals are now discussed and linking assumptions and measures of effectiveness identified.

General Purpose and Sub-Goals

Determination of the purpose of a halfway house is more difficult than it might initially appear. Statements of purpose vary among houses and are often abstract and difficult to define. However, responses to questions of house purpose generally focused on two major themes: reintegration of the offender and reduction of recidivism.

Reintegration, although itself difficult to define, generally refers to the process of easing the transition between a period of incarceration and release to freedom in the community. More specifically, reintegration is an attempt to deal with and reduce the multitude of problems facing the ex-offender. In other words, reintegration is an attempt to increase the ability of the ex-offender to function in society in an acceptable manner.

Of course, the traditional correctional purpose of reducing recidivism must not be neglected. Although many correctional experts are attempting to de-emphasize the use of recidivism as a measure of program effectiveness, public sentiment will not allow us to forget that all correctional programs are designed in the hope that clients will discontinue their previous pattern of criminal behavior.

The most reasonable solution is to encourage a multiple purpose for halfway houses, emphasizing both reintegration and the reduction of recidivism. However, in acknowledging this dual purpose, it must be remembered that the house has the client under supervision and treatment for a relatively short period of time, generally between sixty and seventy days. It is questionable whether anything more long lasting than the intermediate provision of room, board and a supportive environment can be accomplished during this time.

The three sub-goals have already been mentioned. Again, sub-goals are those critical factors assumed to be required for accomplishing the purpose

of the house. Although all identified sub-goals may not contribute equally to this accomplishment, and may overlap in their contributions, each is an important aspect of halfway house operations and, therefore, deserving of separate treatment and examination.

Provision of Program Services: The provision of program services is perhaps seen by halfway house managers as their most important contribution. House staff attempt to determine individual client needs and then utilize either community services or develop resources to respond to these needs. The underlying assumption is that by providing these services, clients will leave the house less disadvantaged and more able to meet the demands of living in a complex society. It is assumed that this, in turn, will reduce or eliminate the ex-offender's reliance on criminal behavior.

In the assessment of the effectiveness of program services in accomplishing the house purpose, it is important to measure the extent and quality of the provision of services. This measure can best be accomplished at the basic program objective level. The success of the house in providing services and fulfilling client needs can be determined from the number of program objectives accomplished by each client. Other measures of the quality of services could be client (consumer) surveys, evaluation by outside experts, or assessments by supervising agents such as parole or probation officers.

Provision of Secure Environment: Although security is not generally considered an important element in the operations of a halfway house, a variety of activities within the house lead to the conclusion that security is not an entirely forgotten variable. In addition, one of the attractive factors in justifying the use of community-based corrections to the public is the fact that the clients reside in a more structured and supervised environment than standard parole, and that this provides a "test" of the ex-offender's readiness to return to society.

The assumption linking this sub-goal to the purpose is that, by providing some supervisory restrictions upon clients, the opportunity and temptation for criminal activity will be lessened, and staff will be able to foresee the coming of critical incidents and perhaps be able to prevent them. This will ease the client through the initial critical periods following release, and allow time for treatment services to take effect.

Achievement of this sub-goal is also more appropriately measured in terms of the accomplishment of basic objectives. These basic objectives most often focus on the client's behavior while in the program, his lack of criminal activities during residency, and the client program completion rate.

Provision of House Support Operations: This sub-goal covers the importance of efficient house operations in accomplishing the house purpose. The general assumption is that an efficiently operated house will be more effective in provision of both program services and security activities, which should produce an environment conducive to client reintegration.

Determination of house effectiveness in accomplishing this sub-goal also comes from evaluations of basic objectives. The more adequately the

house accomplishes objectives such as fiscal solvency and utilizing qualified staff, the more effectively this sub-goal is accomplished.

Measurement of Goal Achievement

Within this framework, the important measurement is designed to test the assumption that provision of the three sub-goals will accomplish the purpose of the halfway house. This test must, of course, be completed under a controlled, evaluative design, utilizing control and experimental groups and conducting a follow-up of outcome behavior after release from the house to the community. Obtaining a sufficiently rigorous evaluative design is simple if well-documented techniques are followed.[49] The critical segment of this analysis is the design of appropriate measures of outcome. Program effectiveness should be judged by a measurement of the ability of the program to accomplish its prescribed purpose.

Recidivism indicators alone are a negative measurement of criminal actions, and do not consider positive behavior or "adjustment." The re-integrative model and definition of halfway house programs mandates an additional measure of positive behavior. Since halfway house programs seek to replace negative-valued behavior with positive behavior, outcome measures should include both types of indicators, sensitive enough to detect slighter progressive changes in the individual.

An additional method of measuring goal achievement is by some form of efficiency analysis. Efficiency measures most generally assess cost effectiveness or capacity utilization. Studies often focus on a comparative analysis of the cost of halfway houses relative to institutional cost. Usually the outcome is measured in terms of per diem costs. Integral to this analysis is a determination of capacity utilization or rate of occupancy. Per diems are sometimes projected for the more efficient (in most cases) eighty-five percent rate of occupancy. In-program success rate studies frequently include per diem assessments, but not always with comparison figures for corresponding institutions.

Finally, a number of studies use descriptive or subjective assessments of the effectiveness or impact of the halfway house. Staff and/or resident questionnaires are used to obtain an in-house assessment of the program. Other studies utilize forms of surveys to determine community attitude toward the halfway house. Also, on-site evaluations are collected which usually take the form of interviews followed by a descriptive assessment and recommendations.

In summary, to test the assumption that, as halfway houses achieve the three listed sub-goals, they accomplish their stated purpose, requires an outcome indicator developed specifically around this statement of purpose. Utilizing a controlled design, the assessment of house effectiveness should include a measure of post-release behavior focusing on the socially acceptable behavior of the ex-resident, as well as his future criminal activity.

Measurement of Recidivism

The overall goal of halfway houses as stated earlier in this section is:

> to assist in the reintegration of ex-offenders by increasing their ability to function in a socially acceptable manner and reducing their reliance on criminal behavior.

Since the measurement of socially acceptable behavior has been seen as a more amorphous activity to operationalize, recidivism has been the most common measure utilized in assessing the reintegrative goal of halfway houses. Indeed, the overwhelming majority of halfway house evaluations employed recidivism as the measure of the effectiveness of the house. Several studies have also attempted to measure or analyze the readjustment or socially acceptable attitudes and behavior of former halfway house clients. Correlational analyses to determine those variables associated with post-program outcome are addressed in a number of studies. Specific programmatic activities which are measured are addressed under specific sections in this report (e.g., employment).

Thirty-five studies which dealt with the post-release outcome of residents of halfway houses were located. Of these, seventeen utilized quasi-experimental designs, two utilized true experimental designs and sixteen merely measured the outcome of halfway house residents.

Regardless of the type of design employed, virtually all houses which measured recidivism used follow-up periods ranging between twelve and eighteen months. Frequently, however, recidivism measures were computed for cohorts (e.g., all residents leaving the halfway house during a given time period), and it was not explicitly stated whether the follow-up periods were equal for all members of the cohort.

Quasi-Experimental Designs: Of the seventeen studies which used quasi-experimental designs in comparing post-program recidivism rates of the halfway house residents and comparison groups, eleven of the studies reported that the recidivism rates or criminal behavior assessments of ex-residents were less than those of the comparison group (most commonly, institutional parolees); three of these studies indicated that the difference was statistically significant. Five of the seventeen studies concluded that there was no statistically significant difference in recidivism rates between groups. Only one study[30] reported that the former halfway house residents recidivated more than comparable probation and parole groups.

True Experimental Designs: There were only two evaluations of halfway houses utilizing a true experimental design (one which randomly assigned individuals to experimental and control groups). Both studies found no significant differences in recidivism or failure rates.

Non-Experimental Designs: Recidivism rates or "failure rates" were cited for sixteen non-experimental studies. Recidivism was operationally defined in a diversity of ways across these studies. Due to this lack of a common definition, and to the variation in the length and chronology of the time

periods, caution should be used in comparing these figures. Recidivism rates ranged from a low of zero to a high of forty-three percent. The average recidivism rate cited in the non-experimental studies was twenty percent.

In summary, the experimental design studies found no significant differences in recidivism rates between the sample of former halfway house residents and a control group. The quasi-experimental design studies indicated in eleven studies that former residents exhibited a lower rate of recidivism comparatively (primarily in comparison with institutional parolees). Five studies indicated no difference in recidivism rates. One study found a higher rate of recidivism for the halfway house sample.

The non-experimental studies, consisting primarily of non-comparative follow-ups of former residents found an average recidivism rate of twenty percent, ranging from zero to forty-three percent.

Based primarily upon the experimental and quasi-experimental recidivism results, it would appear that the evidence is about equally divided between lower recidivism rates for halfway house residents or no difference in recidivism rates when compared to a control or comparison group. Thus, it is suggested that there is some evidence to support the conclusion that halfway houses are achieving the overall goal by reducing the ex-offender's reliance on criminal behavior. Little evidence is available to conclude that halfway houses are assisting in the reintegration of ex-offenders by increasing their ability to function in a socially acceptable manner. The evidence that is available indicates no difference in socially acceptable adjustment behaviors of former residents when compared to a relevant group of individuals.

Measurement of Cost Efficiency

Good evaluations address all facets of program operations. However, the literature review points to one salient fact: that most halfway house evaluations address primarily two major issues. First we find an evaluation of the impact of the intervention modality (which was discussed in the previous section), and secondly, evaluations are conducted to specifically assess the cost-effectiveness of the program or its capacity utilization. The emphasis on this latter aspect of evaluation is so strong that often it is viewed as an alternative to over-all evaluation, rather than only one aspect of a total evaluation effort.

There were twelve reports which conducted efficiency analysis in one form or another. The most common form was that of a cost analysis. Eight of the twelve evaluative reports compared halfway house costs with state institutional costs, primarily on a cost/man/day or per diem basis. Six studies reported that halfway houses cost less than comparable state institutions. One reported that it cost approximately the same to operate the halfway house as the state institution. A statewide study in Minnesota reported that all six of the halfway houses operated at greater cost than a state institution. One house in the Minnesota study, however, was found to operate at less cost than a state reformatory. Another study of several houses which had recently been founded estimated less cost at capacity utilization (implying that current operating costs were higher at less than capacity utilization).[51] Three studies indicated occupancy

rate or capacity utilization. Most of the cost analyses reported actual per diems followed by projected per diems at increased occupancy--the ideal occupancy consistently estimated at eighty-five percent.

The per diem costs cited in these various studies ranged from a low of $13.19 to a high of $70.50 (a house with only twenty-one percent occupancy). These figures cannot, however, be compared due to the variations in programs, diversity in calculation of per diem rate, and unequal time periods.

Capacity utilization figures or occupancy rates varied from a low of twenty-one percent to a high of seventy-six percent. Reasons for the rates were not stated, although the implication was that the desired occupancy rate was higher than the actual rate. This implication was supported by the projected per diem rates often cited in these studies which are based upon a higher occupancy rate (usually eighty-five percent). Possible explanations for these low utilization rates might include poor relations with potential referral agents, lack of awareness of the program on the part of referral agents and difficulty of anticipating and scheduling referrals.

With respect to the cost of operating a halfway house, data were gathered in the survey done in connection with this study which showed an average per diem cost per resident of $16. This figure was based upon data from one hundred fifty-three houses which reported a range of $1-$42 per day per client costs. There were two modes, one between $15 and $16, and the other between $21 and $22.

With regard to an analysis of halfway house cost analysis, a great number of questions are involved:

1. What is the national cost average?
2. How do halfway house costs compare with other criminal justice system operations costs?
3. Is it cheaper to use halfway houses, jails and prisons, probation/parole or some combination thereof?
4. Should not the benefits to the offender and the services provided be considered in selecting among the available alternatives?
5. What about the time factor?
6. Should goals and objectives be considered?
7. If these goals and objectives are not being met, regardless of the cost, should the program be continued?
8. Should the house be bought and renovated, rented and renovated, or constructed from scratch?
9. Should not the residents' fiscal contributions to society also be considered?

In a similar vein, the American Bar Association's report on Cost Analysis of Correctional Standards: Halfway Houses recommended further research designed to address the following questions:

- What are the short and long run facility cost differentials between renting and buying?
- What is the most efficient facility design?

- What are the most efficient combinations of staff?
- What is the relationship between type and level of funding and operating costs? Is there an inflationary effect when federal funding is assumed?
- What is the extent of indirect costs? What is the most efficient administrative design?
- What are the most efficient methods of distributing resources provided by agents external to the criminal justice system?
- What are the trade-offs between opportunity costs to clients and criminal justice system costs?
- What are the aggregate costs to the community of a halfway house locating within it?[52]

Related questions focusing on halfway house policy are also identified:

- What are the output/benefit effects of different goals and policies of halfway houses?
- What are the best available methods for measuring societal benefits?
- What constitutes a "successful" halfway house experience?
- What are the output/benefit effects of different combinations of services to be provided in-house?
- Which types of clients benefit most from services provided in a halfway house setting?[53]

All of the above considerations make it difficult to generalize at this point regarding the cost-effectiveness or cost-benefit of halfway houses. The diversity of operations and role in the criminal justice system complicates this matter. Generally, halfway houses can operate at a daily cost as high as that of an institution and higher than parole and probation. Further analysis should control for divergent cost and benefit factors, as well as the house function in the criminal justice system.

Measurement of Sub-Goal Achievement

The three major sub-goals generally espoused by halfway houses are:

1. "to provide program and services to clients focused on reducing the disadvantages and problems of returning to the community after a period of incarceration."

2. "to provide a sufficiently secure environment for clients, designed to both safeguard the community by reducing the opportunity for unobserved deviant behavior, and to ensure the client's health and well being."

3. "to provide the necessary support for operations of the houses, and to allocate resources among house functions in the most efficient manner."

In order to explore the wide variety of services which are offered by halfway houses, a number of intermediate objectives were also postulated. Each objective was examined in terms of the activities which contribute to

its achievement, the process through which the activities operate, environmental influences and the assumptions which appear to link the activities to objectives and outcomes. Finally, evidence bearing on the validity of the linking assumptions was presented and assessed.

A wide range of activities are used by halfway houses in the pursuit of the various sub-goals and intermediate goals. Generally speaking, however, activities involve the exercise of some degree of control over the clients' environment, the provision for clients' basic needs, the teaching of needed skills, the provision of support and counseling, and the establishment and maintenance of contacts between clients and community resources. These activities are manifest throughout the entire process from referral, through intake and programming, to release and follow-up, although in differing degrees for different objectives. Environmental influences upon the activities and the process are also broad in scope, but include such variables as the state of the economy, community attitudes toward the house, and the availability of services, facilities, and other resources in the community.

Techniques for measuring the performance of houses with regard to sub-goal achievement vary substantially among specific objectives. It is nevertheless possible to identify a number of frequently recurring dimensions, including (1) the degree to which the basic needs of houses and their clients are being identified and met, (2) the frequency of activities devoted to the achievement of goals, both in-house and out-of-house, and among both staff and residents, (3) the frequency of critical incidents and crisis intervention, (4) the nature of subjective assessments of houses and their programs among staff, residents, and members of the community, (5) the percentage allocation of resources (money, time, staff) to the various objectives, and (6) the degree to which programs meet prevailing standards and guidelines. It is important to note that measurements can identify degrees of goal achievement as opposed to simplistic "yes-no" conclusions regarding attainment.

The following sections discuss each of the three sub-goal areas and their respective intermediate goals with respect to evidence of goal achievement.

Program and Treatment Services

The link between these services and the offender's functioning in the community is complex, unclear, and specific to the service provided. It is evident, however, that halfway house personnel believe that they can provide services which yield long lasting effects on offender behavior in spite of the relatively short contact period between the offender and the house.

Employment: Employment of the offender is regarded by most halfway houses as a top priority objective. With the exception of interpersonal counseling, houses report that more program effort is devoted to employment related services than any other category of service. Ninety percent of the house programs surveyed offered some employment services within the house, and a significant number of the remainder offered them through outside agencies.

Assessments of halfway house employment-related activities indicated that halfway houses are assisting a large proportion of residents in job placement or vocational training. In most studies reviewed, residents of halfway houses were employed or gained employment before leaving the house. Many of the employment figures were quite impressive, considering the type of client and generally high unemployment rates. However, there is some evidence that these high rates of employment do not continue after exit from the halfway house.

Employment is the second most utilized outcome determinant (following recidivism measures) in assessing the effectiveness of halfway houses. Correlational analyses between client characteristics or associated variables and reintegration into the community also seem to indicate that employment is a crucial variable for successful readjustment.

Education: Improvement of the offender's educational level is an intermediate objective for a number of halfway houses. Fifty-nine percent of the halfway houses surveyed reported offering educational counseling and placement as an in-house service, and thirty-one percent offered the in-house educational services themselves. Most houses at least act as referral agents for educational services available in the community.

Available studies indicate that the better educated fare better in residential aftercare programs, but that educational activities in halfway houses do not appear to have much effect on adjustment outcomes.

Finances: Assisting the ex-offender to achieve financial self-reliance is frequently expressed as an objective of halfway houses. Almost eighty percent of the houses surveyed reported that they offered financial assistance and counseling to their residents, and half of the houses which offer these services devote over ten percent of their program effort to them.

Only five studies were found which assessed the financial status or skills of the halfway house resident and the effect of such variables upon his subsequent behavior in the community. Several studies indicate that residents are being assisted by the house in achieving self-reliance through the establishment of savings accounts or by placement in jobs. A substantial percentage of the residents are reported as establishing savings accounts. Generally, the financial status component was used in conjunction with other behavioral criteria in determining the former resident's adjustment to the community. The results concerning the effect of this variable upon adjustment are inconclusive.

Family Relationships: A positive or, at least non-disruptive, relationship between the ex-offender and his family is regarded as an objective by most houses. Seventy-eight percent of the houses surveyed reported that they offer in-house services designed to achieve this objective; however, the median level of program effort reported as devoted to this objective was only five percent.

Although several studies correlate stable family relationships with program success, limited evidence exists to support the effect of the resident's relationship with his family upon his successful adjustment to the community.

Interpersonal Relations: The intermediate objective which receives most attention in surveyed halfway houses is developing in ex-offenders the capacity for stable and socially acceptable patterns of interpersonal relations. The houses surveyed reported that they devoted approximately thirty percent of their program effort to counseling for interpersonal development activities.

The results of available studies are inconclusive in assessing the impact of improving or developing interpersonal relationships upon post-release success. It is disconcerting to find that so little evaluation has been done regarding the utilization of counseling activities (especially when interpersonal counseling is supposed to be the highest priority activity) or the link between the resident's ability to interact in stable, socially acceptable patterns and his adjustment to the community.

Client Self-Concept: Improving ex-offender self-concept is an objective often espoused by halfway house personnel. The term "self-concept" is utilized in the halfway house in a very loose way to denote how the client views himself. House personnel assume that self-concept is an important factor in preventing recidivism and in overcoming the effects of the criminal stigma.

No studies were found which assessed the extent of activities utilized by the halfway house to improve the resident's self-concept or the actual improvement in resident self-concept. The outcome studies, as indicated earlier, provided varying results. Thus, conclusions regarding the effects of counseling upon the resident post-release behavior are ambiguous and inconclusive.

Drugs and Alcohol: Reducing clients' dependence on drugs and alcohol is the major objective of a number of halfway houses, and a high priority program component in others. Fifty-nine percent of the surveyed houses provide alcoholic treatment and counseling, and fifty-five percent provide drug treatment and counseling. In addition, seventy-seven percent of the houses refer fifteen percent or more of their residents to alcoholic treatment services in the community, and sixty-nine percent of the houses refer fifteen percent or more of their residents to community drug treatment facilities.

The results of available studies indicate contradictory results regarding the relationship between individuals with drug or alcohol problems and their subsequent adjustment to the community; some indicate that such problems have a detrimental effect, others a facilitative one. There is apparent concern and emphasis upon programmatic activities (as indicated in the survey results) which focus upon alcohol and drug problems of the halfway house resident but no studies were found which addressed the utilization of activities to reduce resident drug or alcohol dependence.

Leisure Time Activities: In-house recreational services are offered by sixty-six percent of the houses surveyed. An additional fifty-seven percent reported that twenty-five percent or more of their residents utilized recreational facilities available in the community.

For an activity which is reportedly emphasized by a large number of halfway houses, no conclusions can be drawn (other than those from the survey data) in assessing the utilization of such activities or their effect upon adjustment. No studies were found which assessed leisure time activities in halfway houses or the effect of such activities on subsequent adjustment behavior in the community.

Community Placement: Providing the ex-offender with a suitable community placement upon his release from the halfway house is an intermediate objective which most houses encourage. It is interesting that houses do not report that they spend a significant proportion of their program effort in this area, but at the same time they regard it as important.

The one available study demonstrated that halfway houses can assist residents in finding suitable living accomodation in the community prior to release. However, results of one study which does not specifically consider community placement does not allow definite formulation of conclusions.

Physical Disability: Services devoted to improving or minimizing physical disabilities rank last in terms of services provided in-house and through community agencies. Twelve percent of the surveyed houses offer physical rehabilitation services in-house, and thirty-six percent refer clients to community agencies.

No studies were found which assessed the mechanisms for achieving specific physical disability needs of halfway house residents or the effect of this variable upon the overall goal of reintegration.

Security and Resident Well-Being

This sub-goal is multi-dimensional, and a variety of services and activities are required for its achievement. One dimension is the security of the facility and the community. Security in this sense can be interpreted as the protection of the community from harmful or criminal acts of the halfway house residents. A second dimension relates to the security and well-being of the residents of the halfway house. Security in this sense refers to protection from need. The provision of food, clothing, shelter, and transportation are basic activities directed toward achievement of this dimension.

Program non-completion or negative termination rates are the only indicators of in-house security which are currently available. Studies which have examined these rates report they range from 30 to 50 percent. However, it must be recognized that these rates include a great deal more than just in-house misbehavior. They include such conditions as failure to adjust to the house program, failure to follow house rules, or loss of a job. This mixing of programmatic failure with actual misbehavior precludes any conclusion concerning the adequacy of in-house security.

Community security was assessed through measures of resident's criminal behavior and by assessment of variation in crime rates and property values for the halfway house neighborhoods. Studies of in-program criminal behavior report that 2 to 17 percent of the residents are charged with or

convicted of new crimes while in the house. A wide range of specific crimes are committed with approximately 25 percent personal, 25 percent property, and the remainder drug, public order or unidentifiable. There is no evidence to indicate whether criminal behavior is confined to the area of the house or scattered throughout the community. No study has reported an increase in area crime rates attributable to the opening of a house, nor have community residents near halfway houses, following an initial period of adjustment, reported any perception of decreased community security or increased criminal behavior. Finally, there is no evidence that property values are adversely influenced by the presence of a halfway house. Overall, it appears that halfway houses are achieving community security levels which are reasonable for the freedom granted their residents and satisfactory to communities in which they are located.

Administration of the Aftercare Program

Funding: The provision of adequate funds for the operation of the facility is a challenging objective for most halfway houses. The link between adequate funding and program operation is direct and cannot be disputed. Beyond sustaining operation, however, the relationship of funding to reintegration is not so clear.

Funding is a major factor affecting many aspects of a halfway house's operation. Indeed, the halfway houses surveyed indicated it was their foremost concern. No information is available, however, upon which to base an assessment of the effectiveness of the halfway house's utilization of funding nor the effect of funding upon house operations.

Physical Facilities: The halfway house must have a suitable physical facility to carry on its program. The very nature of the aftercare process requires that shelter be provided for the participants. Houses surveyed indicated that locating and obtaining a suitable structure had been one of their most difficult initial problems.

Based upon the survey data, a large proportion of the halfway houses reported that they are meeting or exceeding the standards regarding the physical facility as set by the International Halfway House Association.

Staffing: The provision of a qualified staff is an important administrative objective for a halfway house. Most houses operate under the assumption that a qualified staff with particular characteristics is most effective in promoting reintegration of ex-residents.

The houses vary considerably with regard to the kind and quality of staff used in the program. The characteristics of educational level, academic discipline, experience, age, race, sex, and criminal history vary tremendously from program to program making it difficult to assess the type and effect of staff upon programmatic activities and resident progress.

A large majority (approximately eighty percent) of resident assessments of halfway house staff were very favorable or indicated the staff (or program) was very helpful.

Community Support: Most halfway houses attempt to encourage support for the facility and its programs. There seems to be some research evidence which indicates a lack of community support (instead of a presence of hostility) toward local halfway houses. Some houses did find community support, but the survey data seem to indicate that the houses are not utilizing methods to secure community understanding and acceptance which can lead to support.

Basic Needs: All halfway houses serve the intermediate objective of providing for the ex-offender's basic needs following his release from incarceration. The assumption is that, for a short period of time immediately following release, the ex-offender may be unable to provide his basic needs without assistance. Based upon survey data, it appears that a large majority of halfway houses are meeting the resident's basic needs of food, housing, transportation and clothing.

Community Agencies: Halfway houses pursue the intermediate objective of developing close working relationships with community agencies and referral agents in part because halfway houses are generally unable to provide all the services that ex-offenders require on an in-house basis.

The survey data provide support for the contention that halfway houses are, for the most part, utilizing community agencies to provide services for house residents. The quality of the relationship between halfway houses and community or referral agencies seems to be less than adequate, however. Difficulty in obtaining prompt and efficient services from community agencies was noted by houses, which can and does affect the overall progress of the halfway house's residents toward reintegration.

Program Evaluation and Modification: A final, intermediate objective is to provide for the evaluation and modification of the house program. This objective implies several underlying assumptions which are rarely articulated by halfway house personnel. One assumption is that the overall performance of aftercare programs can be improved by modifying the program, in other words, program content is related to resident success. A second assumption holds that information about the program which is obtained for evaluation purposes will result in conclusions useful for program modification. A third assumption holds that the offenders who are inputs to the aftercare process change gradually over time, and that it is necessary to constantly update the program to account for this change. Finally, evaluation and program modification objectives are often regarded as requirements for securing adequate funding.

The majority (seventy percent) of the halfway houses surveyed reported that evaluations of some kind had been done on their program. This percentage would indicate that halfway houses are achieving the goal of evaluating their program and its activities. However, a majority of the houses which reported evaluation efforts also reported that no modifications in program activities resulted from these evaluations.

Conclusion

The following is an overall assessment of the effectiveness of adult residential inmate aftercare programs. The assessment is in terms of the designed framework, its operating assumptions and the information available to measure the effectiveness of the halfway house program. The information used as a basis for this overall assessment stems primarily from fifty-five evaluative studies focusing on residential aftercare programs and the results of the survey of halfway houses conducted as a part of Phase I of the National Evaluation Program study. The preceding sections summarized and assessed the evaluative information available for the programmatic activities upon the residents' reintegration into the community.

The emphasis of the majority of presently completed halfway house outcome evaluation studies has been upon the measurement of recidivism rates of former residents. Fewer studies have attempted to measure "adjustment" or positive modes of reintegration into the community, although the effect of specific programmatic activities upon the resident's post-program status (behaviors and attitudes) have also begun to be assessed (specifically employment status, financial stability and drug or alcohol involvement). Measurement of the occurrence and effectiveness of halfway house programmatic activities has been sparse and totally absent for some activities.

In terms of recidivism, there is evidence which appears to lend support to the statement that halfway houses do succeed in reducing the recidivism rates of former residents in comparison to ex-offenders released directly into the community. However, the few significant findings do not lend reliability to this conclusion. Even less conclusive evidence is available regarding positive measures of the reintegrative goal of halfway houses. There are studies which address the effects of individual programmatic activities upon the resident's subsequent adjustment to the community, but a gap in knowledge exists concerning the "relative adjustment" of ex-offenders in terms of a conglomerate measure of attitudes and behaviors of various categories of clients. When assessing the cost effectiveness of halfway houses, it has generally been found that houses operate at a per diem cost as high or higher than those of institutions and parole or probation. The accuracy of the findings are questionable, however. Many questions remain unanswered, however, regarding analyses of cost versus benefits, as discussed above.

Programmatic and treatment services were identified as halfway houses' first major sub-goal. Analyses of this sub-goal were divided into activities and assessed as such in this report. An assessment of employment-related activities concluded that halfway houses are facilitating job placement or vocational training for a large percentage of their residents. However, considerable evidence was found which indicated that this high rate of employment does not appear to continue after release from the house, suggesting a need for more research to determine the reasons for this inconsistency. Educational services are being provided by many halfway houses, and evidence suggests that better-educated residents do better in the halfway house setting and in employment. However, results are inconclusive when attempting to relate education to post-release outcome. Results from several studies tentatively indicated that halfway houses are assisting their residents in

achieving financial self-reliance through various activities. Again, results concerning the effect of this activity upon subsequent adjustment are inconclusive. Little evidence was found to determine if halfway houses are providing services which would improve or stabilize the resident's family relationships. Correlational studies were discovered, however, which linked this variable with successful post-release behavior. Thus, a gap exists in the knowledge of the impact of halfway houses upon the resident's establishment of a satisfactory family relationship.

A high priority is placed upon interpersonal counseling activities in halfway houses. However, little evaluation has been found concerning the provision of such counseling or its effectiveness. The importance of future research in this area cannot be overly emphasized. Also, the area of resident self-concept has been lacking in evaluation. Although improvement of the resident's self-image is espoused by a large majority of halfway houses, no studies were found which measured the achievement of this activity or established a link between this activity and the resident's post-release behavior, even though some correlational evidence suggests such a link is present.

Reducing dependence on drugs or alcohol is an activity performed by many houses. No evidence was found to demonstrate whether houses achieve this goal or whether there is a link between this activity and subsequent adjustment behavior. Correlational results were inconclusive and contradictory for this variable. Leisure time activities were not found to be evaluated, indicating a gap in knowledge concerning this variable. Limited evidence was found concerning halfway house efforts at assisting the resident in locating suitable community placement, which results in a lack of conclusions regarding this activity and its effect on outcome behavior. No information was found concerning halfway house services designed to improve or minimize the resident's physical disabilities. Therefore, no conclusions can be made regarding this variable.

The second major sub-goal was identified as security and resident well-being. Unfortunately, current indicators of in-house security mix programmatic failure and in-house misbehavior and thus do not allow conclusions regarding the adequacy of in-house security. It should be noted that frequently trade-offs are felt to exist between in-house security and program procedures which may help explain varying levels of security between houses. Evidence does exist, however, which demonstrates that community security is generally achieved by halfway houses as demonstrated by relatively constant community crime rates and stable property values following the establishment of a halfway house.

The third major sub-goal, administration of the aftercare program, is the final identified sub-goal. Funding was indicated by halfway houses as their highest priority problem. No evidence, however, is available to assess the effectiveness of halfway house utilization of funds or the effect of funding upon program and policy procedures. Based upon survey data alone (no evaluative information was found), it appears that halfway houses are meeting or exceeding physical facility standards as set forth by the International Halfway House Association. A staffing assessment is inconclusive due largely to the diversity in the kind and quality of staff found in halfway houses and the lack of evidence which would link staff

qualities to resident behavior during or after release from the program. Credible evaluative evidence was found which indicated that there is an absence of community support and even some opposition toward local halfway houses. Based upon survey data alone, it can be suggested that most halfway houses are meeting the resident's basic needs of food, housing, transportation and clothing.

Survey data was utilized to assess the relationship between halfway houses and community agencies which refer or provide services to residents. The quality of this relationship appears to be lacking with a number of houses indicating difficulty in obtaining prompt and efficient services from these agencies. Program evaluation efforts appear to be ongoing and prevalent as indicated by survey responses. However, program modification as a result of the evaluations appears to be relatively non-existent.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Trends in the Administration of Justice and Correctional Progress in the United States, 1965, p. 34.

[2]Task Force Report: Corrections, Task Force on Corrections, The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967, p. 1.

[3]Sparks, R. F., "Research on the Use and Effectiveness of Probation, Parole and Measures of After-care," in the Council of Europe Report on The Practical Organization of Probation and After-Care Services, Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1968 (unpublished), pp. 4-11.

[4]Babst, Dean V. and Mannering, John W., "Probation Versus Imprisonment for Similar Types of Offenders: A Comparison By Subsequent Violations," Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, Vol. 11, No. 2 (1965) pp. 60-71.

[5]Sparks, ibid,. p. 8.

[6]Hood, R.G., "Research on the Effectiveness of Punishment and Treatments," in Collected Studies in Criminological Research, I., Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1967, pp. 74-86, 89-102.

[7]Martinson, Robert, "What Works?--Questions and Answers About Prison Reform," Public Interest, No. 35 (Spring 1974), pp. 22-55.

[8]Task Force Report: Corrections, ibid., p. 28.

[9]Based on site visit data.

[10]The Residential Center: Corrections in the Community, United States Department of Justice, Bureau of Prisons, Washington, D.C., pp. 5-6.

[11]Doleschal, Eugene, "Graduated Release," Information Review on Crime and Delinquency, Vol. 1, No. 10 (December 1969) p. 10.

[12]Task Force Report: Corrections, ibid.

[13]Yepsen, Lloyd, "Classification: The Basis for Modern Treatment of Offender," in Correctional Classification and Treatment: A Reader, Leonard J. Hippchen (ed.), Cincinnati, Ohio: W. H. Anderson, 1975, p. 13.

[14]Ibid., p. 14.

[15]See Guidelines and Standards for Halfway Houses and Community Treatment Centers; the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, Corrections; Joint Commission on Correctional Manpower and Training, Perspectives on Correctional Manpower and Training; and Keller, Oliver, Halfway Houses: Community Centered Corrections and Treatment, Lexington, Massachusetts: Heath Lexington Books, 1970, pp. 122-129.

[16]McCartt, John M. and Mangogna, Thomas J., Guidelines and Standards for Halfway Houses and Community Treatment Centers, United States Department of Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, Technical Assistance Division, 1973.

[17]Pearce, W. H., "Reintegration of the Offender into the Community--New Resources and Perspectives," Canadian Journal of Corrections, Vol. 12, No. 4 (1970) p. 467.

[18]Ibid., pp. 466-481.

[19]Trojanowiecz, Robert C., "Halfway Houses--Community-Based Treatment for Juvenile Delinquents," in Correctional Treatment of the Offender, Albert R. Thomas (ed.), Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas, 1974, pp. 278-293.

[20]Bailey, Walter C., "Correctional Outcome: An Evaluation of 100 Reports," Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science, Vol. 57, No. 2 (June 1966) pp. 153-160.

[21]Estimated at approximately sixty percent of houses surveyed.

[22]Estimated at approximately forty percent of houses surveyed.

[23]Koslin, E. M.; Kass, W. A.; and Warren M. Q., "Classification, Evaluation, and Treatment Models in Community Ex-Offender Residency Programs," American Correctional Association Proceedings, 1973.

[24]Weiss, Carol H., Evaluation Research: Methods of Assessing Program Effectiveness, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1972.

[25]Glaser, Daniel, Routinizing Evaluation: Getting Feedback on Effectiveness of Crime and Delinquency Programs, Washington, D.C.: Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1973.

[26]Campbell, Donald T. and Stanley, Julian C., Experimental and Quasi-Experimental Designs for Research, Chicago: Rand McNally, 1963.

[27]Seiter, Richard P., Evaluation Research as a Feedback Mechanism for Criminal Justice Policy Making: A Critical Analysis, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Ohio State University, 1975.

[28]Glaser, ibid.; U.S. Department of Justice (a), Evaluative Research in Corrections: A Practical Guide, National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, by Stuart Adams, 1975; U.S. Department of Justice (b), "Research and Development, Information and Statistics," in Corrections, National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, by John Conrad, 1973, pp. 496-532; Massachusetts Department of Corrections, Evaluating Correctional Enterprises, by Paul McGerigle, April 1971; Seiter, ibid.; U.S. Department of Justice (c), Bureau of Prisons, Additional Research Materials for the July 23rd Meeting in Chicago, Memorandum from Howard Kitchener, Director of Research, July 15, 1975.

[29]U.S. Department of Justice (b), ibid., p. 512.

[30]Ibid.

[31]Ibid., p. 513.

[32]Seiter, ibid.

[33]Moberg, David O. and Ericson, Richard C., "A New Recidivism Outcome Index," Federal Probation, Vol. 36 (June 1972) pp. 50-57.

[34]Seiter, ibid., p. 140.

[35]Vasoli, Robert H. and Fahey, Frank J., "Halfway House for Reformatory Releasees," Crime and Delinquency, Vol. 16 (July 1970) pp. 292-304.

[36]Seiter, ibid.

[37]Ibid., p. 78.

[38]Ibid.

[39]Ward, David., "Evaluative Research for Corrections," in Prisoners in America, Lloyd E. Ohlin (ed.), Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1973, pp. 184-206.

[40]Weiss, ibid., pp. 67-68.

[41]Ibid., p. 73.

[42]Ibid., p. 74.

[43]Ibid., p. 84.

[44]Suchman, Edward A., Evaluative Research: Principles and Practice in Public Service and Social Action Programs, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1968.

[45]Mathews, M.; Steinburn, T.; and Bennett, C., Assessment of Alternatives to Incarceration, Human Affairs Research Centers, Pacific Northwest Laboratories, Seattle, Washington, May 1973.

[46]Ibid.

[47]Pettibone, John M., "Community-Based Programs: Catching Up with Yesterday and Planning for Tomorrow," Federal Probation, Vol. 37 (September 1973) pp. 3-8.

[48]McCartt and Mangogna, ibid., pp. 33-34.

[49]Weiss, ibid.; Campbell and Stanley, ibid.

[50]Iowa, Department of Social Services, Correctional Evaluation Bureau, Community Corrections In Iowa: An Alternative to Tradition, June, 1975.

[51]New Jersey (a), Recidivism Exploratory Study, Morrow Projects of the New Jersey Association on Correction, Myra Mintz, Trenton, New Jersey, June 1973.

[52]Thalheimer, Donald J., Cost Analysis of Correctional Standards: Halfway Houses, Standards and Goals Project, Correctional Economics Center of the American Bar Association, Washington, D.C., 1975, p. 5.

[53]Ibid.

Appendix A

The Inmate Aftercare Process

The generalized aftercare process and client flow can be viewed in terms of decisions made regarding the disposition of the client. Both the critical decisions and the information necessary to make such decisions strongly influence the nature of the process. Figure 1 highlights the major decision points in the process. On the chart the rectangles represent processes; the parallelograms, inputs and outputs; the cut-off rectangles, document or information flows; and the diamonds, decision. The decisions are all phrased so they can be either accepted (yes) or rejected (no) with the flow then following the appropriate branch.

Although the aftercare process does not commence until after a period of incarceration, the aftercare process is contingent on the sentencing decision. The flow diagram thus begins at the point where the defendant is convicted of a crime punishable by incarceration [1], in most cases a felony. Following conviction, one of the first decisions concerns the mental status of the offender [2]. Should there be a question concerning his mental condition he will be referred for a special examination [3]. The results of this examination [4] are forwarded to the court which must review the examination results [5] and determine [6] if the offender is capable of continuing in the traditional corrections process. Should the offender be found mentally ill or otherwise subject to statutes regarding special classes of offenders, such as sexual psychopaths, commitment to a mental or special correctional facility is a possibility [7]. The ultimate outcome of these special commitments may be a return to court for sentencing [8] or a return to the community as "cured" [9]. For offenders who either do not receive a mental examination or who receive one but are found not to meet the criteria for special commitment, a presentence investigation will normally be completed and the offender's mental condition as well as other relevant factors will be discussed [10].[10] This presentence processing is critical for the offender for two reasons: first, the information generated here may be used as the basis for decisions later in the process; and second, a special commitment at this stage can effectively screen out an offender as a potential referral to a halfway house.[11]

The sentencing process and its correlative disposition occur when the offender and the information generated by the presentence investigation [11] will return to the court [12]. The court has some discretion in the disposition of the offender; however, dispositions can all be classified as either incarceration or return to the community. The decision not to incarcerate the offender [13] and to place the offender on probation most frequently leads to a direct return to the community [14], though occasionally return may be preceded by a stay in a community correctional facility or a halfway house [15]. Although this study does not focus on the use of halfway houses as alternatives to incarceration, the possibility remains that probationers can utilize halfway houses in this manner. Alternatively, if the sentencing decision is to incarcerate the offender, the prison process begins [16]. The prison program and the process of imprisonment are important for the aftercare process because they pro-

foundly affect the potential clients of the halfway house and thus shape the development of the aftercare program. The alternative dispositions for offenders which are available to judges serve as a preliminary filtering device for the aftercare programs, and the imprisonment process further filters and "molds" the offenders who are potential referrals to aftercare programs.

The actual referral process to a halfway house could begin upon intake to the prison, but it generally begins during the latter portion of the offender's period of incarceration.[12] Initially, potential referrals to the halfway house are identified [17]. Potential referrals may consist of all inmates of the institution or subgroups of inmates based on legal status, place of residence, or aftercare needs. The identification of potential referrals also includes the location of members of this population who are willing to participate, usually on the basis of applications [18]. The applications are screened to assure that the applicants meet the legal and institutional policy requirements for any special inmate status which is requested [19 and 20]. Willing participants are then evaluated to identify if halfway house placement is appropriate for this individual [21]. (It should be noted that "willing participants" may be a misnomer. Often the halfway house is the only available placement which meets parole requirements.) The evaluation is followed by a decision (generally made by the institution staff, parole board, and/or inmate) to refer or not refer the inmate to the aftercare program [22]. If the decision is made not to refer the offender, the alternatives then are either evaluation for traditional parole [23] if the offender is eligible or return to the institutional population. If the decision is made to refer, a second evaluation occurs [24]. This evaluation is a "placement" evaluation, and the halfway house plays an active role. House staff must either accept or reject a referral to their program [25]. If the house staff declines a referral, the alternatives for the offender are an alternative halfway house placement [26], traditional parole, or return to the house population.

If an offender is accepted in an aftercare program, an intake orientation process follows [27]. Orientation is the first process which takes place at the halfway house and the process is frequently quite elaborate. It may include formal classes and seminars for the residents and the distribution of carefully prepared resident manuals which detail rules, regulations and house philosophy. A considerable amount of staff time and effort is devoted to ensuring that the offender (client) understands the philosophy of the house and the rules and regulations he is expected to follow. This step is considered to be critical and, occasionally, programs surveyed formally tested the resident to see how well he had understood the orientation. All took extensive steps (such as contracts) to avoid any misunderstandings [28].

Following the intake orientation, or as an adjunct to it, classification, diagnosis, and goal setting begins. Information which was generated during the evaluations for referral and acceptance is utilized, as well as previously available information such as presentence reports and institutional records. Occasionally, information is specifically collected for this process through client interviews and testing [29]. The output of this process, whether it is called classification, diagnosis, or goal setting, is a set of goals and objectives which the client will pursue during his stay at the house [30]. These goals and objectives

are almost always the result of mutual agreement between client and staff and only rarely are they the result of unilateral action by the house staff [31].

The following planning process [32] is actually a series of decisions about which resources available to the halfway house will be utilized for a particular client. The decisions involve the participation of the client [33] and allow for modification of the plan if he is dissatisfied, provided that the staff sees room for compromise[34]. If there is no room for compromise, there is usually an opportunity for the client to leave the program.

Participation in the individually-planned program follows [35]. The client and the staff work toward achieving the goals and objectives of the program plan. On either a periodic or continuing basis, the client's performance is evaluated [36] and a decision is made regarding whether he should continue in the program. The decision is often based on whether the offender has achieved or is making satisfactory progress toward the goals and objectives of his program. If his performance is deemed inadequate [37], he may be removed from the program, or perhaps may be continued in the hope that benefit will accrue with time [38]. If the decision is made not to remove the offender, it may be possible to modify his program so that he may be more realistically expected to achieve his goals and objectives [39].

If the client's progress has been judged as adequate by the evaluation measure, he is ready to leave the halfway house. If he has received maximum benefit from the program [40] but has not achieved stated goals and objectives [41], he may be released to the community [42]. The most likely alternative, however, is that he will continue in the program [35].

Regardless of whether the program goals and objectives have been achieved for those who are felt to have benefited from the effort, the process of preparing to leave the house can begin [42]. Preparations often include development of a parole plan and acquiring suitable living quarters in the community. The client's preparations for exiting the house are themselves evaluated [43] and the release date sometimes can be extended if preparations are not satisfactory [44]. Situations can occur in which exit preparations are judged inadequate but the client still leaves the house because the staff believe that more time will not result in better preparation [45]. There are also some clients who, because of status or performance, cannot be released directly. These clients are usually evaluated for parole [46].

Acceptable release preparations and placement in the community are almost universally accepted as a client's most successful exit from a halfway house [47], [48]. The placement can be either an outright release or release on traditional parole. After leaving the house, follow-up by the house staff or the client's parole officer may be included in the process [49], [50]. Although some houses operate an extensive outreach program to supplement their residential program, for most houses, follow-up consists of little more than a very informal attempt to measure the client's adjustment to the community living situation with no intention of supplying any additional services. This measure of adjustment ranges from simple recidivism to acceptable adjustment which includes work, family, and social adjustment. If post-release behavior is satisfactory, the client is unconditionally terminated from the aftercare program

and considered to be a success for the house [51], [52]. If behavior is unsatisfactory, the client may be returned to incarceration [53], re-programmed through the halfway house [54], or possibly terminated from follow-up as a program failure [55]. Clients who fail to show positive adjustment but have been unconditionally released can only be terminated as program failures [56].

The preceding description and flow diagram are intended to provide an orientation to the overall inmate residential aftercare process in terms of critical decisions made concerning the client.

Appendix B. Evaluations Surveyed By House Affiliation, Design Type and Evaluating Agency

HOUSE OPERATION AFFILIATION	EVALUATION DESIGN TYPE				EVALUATING AGENCY		
	Experimental	Quasi-Experimental	Non-Experimental	Descriptive	In-House	Governmental Unit	Private Consultan
Private	0	4	8	7	9	5	3
Federal	0	1	2	0	9	3	0
State	1	11	5	9	1	17	3
County	1	0	2	0	0	2	0
Combined Public/ Private	0	1	1	2	0	2	1

Evaluations Surveyed By House Affiliation, Design Type and Evaluating Agency

	EVALUATION DESIGN TYPE			EVALUATING AGENCY			
ntal	Quasi-Experimental	Non-Experimental	Descriptive	In-House	Governmental Unit	Private Consultant	Academic
	4	8	7	9	5	3	2
	1	2	0	9	3	0	0
	11	5	9	1	17	3	5
	0	2	0	0	2	0	1
	1	1	2	0	2	1	1

Appendix C

Bibliography of Evaluations Reviewed

CALIFORNIA

California. Department of Corrections, Parole and Community Services Division. Report on Community Correctional Centers, December 1972.

Lamb, H. Richard and Goertzel, Victor, "A Community Alternative to County Jail: The Hopes and the Realities," Federal Probation, Vol. 39, No. 1 (March 1975) pp. 33-39.

Kirby, Bernard C. Crofton House Final Report, June 1970. San Diego State College, San Diego, California, June 1970.

Ex-Convict Motivation and Recovery Center (X-MARC) First Year Final Report, July 1, 1971-June 30, 1972. Prepared by the California Council on Criminal Justice for the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, 1972. NTIS #PB 225 112/2.

Connett, A. V.; Erickson, R. J.; Bull, J. L.; and Shope, G. L., Utilizing Ex-Offender Resources in Rehabilitation: Final Report. Western Behavioral Science Institute, LaJolla, California 92037, August 11, 1975.

COLORADO

Colorado. Department of Institutions, Division of Correctional Services. Summary: Five-Year Follow-Up. Document #75-4, Office of Research and Planning, P.O. Box 384, Golden, Colorado, January 25, 1975.

Colorado. Department of Institutions, Division of Correctional Services. Document #75-29. Office of Research and Planning, P.O. Box 384, Golden, Colorado, August 8, 1975.

DELAWARE

Delaware. Department of Health and Social Services. Delaware Agency to Reduce Crime. Work/Education Release Program: An Analysis of Operational Effects. Harold W. Metz, Director of Evaluation, Divisior of Corrections, June 1975.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

District of Columbia. Department of Corrections. A Comparison of the Community Performance of Community Correctional Center and Institutional Releasees: Some Preliminary Findings. March 1971.

District of Columbia. Department of Corrections. Effects of Halfway Houses on Neighborhood Crime Rates and Property Values: A Preliminary Survey. Judith A. Hecht, Research Report No. 37, November 1970.

An Evaluation of Community Corrections Centers in the District of Columbia. Informatics, Inc., 6000 Executive Boulevard, Rockville, Maryland 20852, 1974.

District of Columbia. Department of Corrections. A Neighborhood Reaction to the Establishment of a Halfway House. Research Report No. 44, May 1972.

District of Columbia. Department of Corrections. A Statistical Analysis of Recidivism Data. Carl M. Harris, George Washington University, Washington, D.C., September 1973.

Special Report on Adult Offenders in the Community Residential Treatment Program. Bureau of Rehabilitation of the National Capital Area, 666 11th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., May 1972.

HAWAII

Hawaii. Department of Social Services and Housing. Corrections Division. Adult Furlough Center. University of Hawaii, School of Social Work, Social Welfare Development and Research Center, Report #110, Honolulu, Hawaii, October 1972.

Hawaii. Department of Social Services and Housing. Corrections Division. Adult Furlough Center Appendix A, "Evaluation of the Group Processes at the Adult Furlough Center," Report #110, by Herbert Lee, University of Hawaii, School of Social Work, Social Welfare Development and Research Center, Honolulu, Hawaii, October 1972.

Hawaii. Department of Social Services and Housing. Corrections Division. The Adult Furlough Center: Correlates of Parole Success (A Supplement to Adult Furlough Center, Report #110) University of Hawaii, School of Social Work, Social Welfare Development and Research Center, Report #124, Honolulu, Hawaii, November 1973.

Liliha House: An In-Community Residential Program. University of Hawaii, School of Social Work, Social Welfare Development and Research Center, Report #113, June 1974.

IOWA

Iowa. Department of Social Services. Division of Management and Planning. Community Corrections in Iowa: An Alternative to Tradition. Correctional Evaluation Bureau, June 1975.

United States Department of Justice. Law Enforcement Assistance Administration. National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice. A Handbook on Community Corrections in Des Moines: A Coordinated Approach to the Handling of Adult Offenders, 1974.

MARYLAND

Maryland. Montgomery County Department of Correction and Rehabilitation. An Evaluation of the Montgomery County Pre-Release Center: Pilot Study One. R. E. DiGiacomo, Lee Norton, and Knowlton W. Johnson, Institute of Criminal Justice and Criminology, University of Maryland, 1975.

Maryland. Montgomery County Department of Correction and Rehabilitation. Program Review of the Montgomery County Pre-Release Center. 11500 Huff Court, Kensington, Maryland 20795, January 1975.

MASSACHUSETTS

Massachusetts. Department of Correction. An Analysis of Recidivism Among Residents Released from Boston State and Shirley Pre-Release Centers During 1972-1973. Daniel P. LeClair, August 1975.

Massachusetts. Department of Correction. A Profile of Characteristics Distinguishing Between Program Completers and Program Non-Completers in Massachusetts' Pre-Release Centers. Daniel P. LeClair, November 1975.

MICHIGAN

Michigan. Department of Corrections. 1974 Analysis of Community Residential Programs. Laura Haddad, April 14, 1975.

Michigan. Department of Corrections. State of Michigan Corrections Centers: Analysis and Recommendations. Community Corrections Resource Programs, Inc., December 20, 1974.

MINNESOTA

Minnesota. Governor's Commission on Crime Prevention and Control. Project Re-entry Project Evaluation. Robert A. Erickson, Project Director, January 24, 1975.

Minnesota. Governor's Commission on Crime Prevention and Control. Residential Community Corrections Programs: Preliminary Evaluation. April 1975.

MISSOURI

Missouri. Law Enforcement Assistance Council. Alpha House - Region 2 Halfway House. Meredith B. Turner, May 16, 1975.

Kass, Warren. Monthly Statistics and 6-Months Results, 1975. Magdala Foundation, 1129 Penrose Avenue, St. Louis, Missouri 63107, 1975.

NEW JERSEY

New Jersey. Law Enforcement Planning Agency. Quarterly Narrative Report of the Division of Correction and Parole, Bureau of Community Services, for the Newark House Program, August 1975.

New Jersey. Recidivism Exploratory Study. Myra Mintz, for Morrow Projects of the New Jersey Association on Correction, 21 North Clinton Avenue, Trenton, New Jersey 08609, June 1973.

NEW YORK

Solomon, Theo. Final Report of the Ex-Offender Evaluation Project, Volume I - Research, The Institute of Law and Social Process, 1975.

NORTH CAROLINA

North Carolina. Central Piedmont Criminal Justice Planning Agency. An Evaluation of the Home of Assurance. Joe Kiesenhofer and Al Matthews.

North Carolina. Central Piedmont Criminal Justice Planning Agency. Final Report for the Home of Assurance - Discretionary Grant Progress Report. Stacy L. Long, Executive Director, February 6, 1974.

OHIO

Seiter, R. P.; Petersilia, J. R.; and Allen, H. E. Evaluation of Adult Halfway Houses in Ohio. Monograph in the Criminal Justice System Series, Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University, Program for the Study of Crime and Delinquency, 1974 and 1975.

Zimkowski, Anthony M. CAPO's Treatment Program After One Year. Citizens Aiding Public Offenders, Inc., P.O. Box 4536, Toledo, Ohio 43620, October 11, 1975.

PENNSYLVANIA

Lonergan, Brian, "Community Treatment Services," American Journal of Correction, Vol. 34, No. 5 (September-October 1972) pp. 34-35,46.

Pennsylvania Community Treatment Services: An Evaluation and Proposed Evaluation System, Final Report. Informatics, Inc., 6000 Executive Boulevard, Rockville, Maryland 20852, September 1972.

Taylor, D. F. A Report of a Follow-Up Study Made of Former Residents of Grubstake. Grubstake, Inc., Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15203, April 1974.

Taylor, D. F. A Report of a Study of Grubstake Residents Admitted and Terminated During the First Seven Months of 1974. Grubstake, Inc., Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15203, 1974.

RHODE ISLAND

Rhode Island. State Planning Agency. Challenge House Report: A Report on Technical Assistance. Bryan Riley, under a contract between the American Correctional Association and the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, May 4, 1974.

SOUTH CAROLINA

South Carolina. Department of Corrections. Annual Report: 1972-73. Division of Community Programs, 1973.

South Carolina. Department of Corrections. Community-Based Corrections Programs: Alternatives to Failure. W. D. Leeke, Director. Paper presented at the 1971 Conference of the Alabama Council on Crime and Delinquency, September 23, 1971.

South Carolina. Governor's Committee on Criminal Justice, Crime and Delinquency. Quarterly Progress Reports, July-September, 1975 - Killingsworth Home and Alston Wilkes Society, P.O. Box 363, Columbia, South Carolina 20292, 1975.

TENNESSEE

Tennessee. Department of Correction. Evaluation of Opportunity House. Ramon Sanchez-Vinas, Director of Programs and Evaluation, September 19, 1974.

Thomson, Rogers. Opportunity House, Inc. Project Evaluation, 1974. Opportunity House, Inc., 720 Boscobel Street, Nashville, Tennessee 37206, 1974.

VIRGINIA

Virginia. Department of Corrections. Division of Probation and Parole Services. Community Correctional Centers: Comparative Client/Cost Data. November 1975.

UNITED STATES

United States. The Comptroller General of the United States. Federal Guidance Needed If Halfway Houses Are To Be A Viable Alternative To Prison. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, May 28, 1975.

United States Department of Justice. Bureau of Prisons. Additional Research Materials for the July 23rd Meeting in Chicago. Memorandum from Howard Kitchener, Director of Research, July 15, 1975 (Xerox copy) 60 pp.

United States Department of Justice. Bureau of Prisons. A Descriptive and Comparative Study of Recidivism in Pre-Release Guidance Center Releasees. Reis H. Hall, Mildred Milazzo, and Judy Posner, 1966.

United States Department of Justice. Bureau of Prisons. Success and Failure of Federal Offenders Released in 1970. January 1974 (Draft).

OTHER

Report of the Task Force on Community-Based Residential Centres. The Solicitor General of Canada, Ottawa, Canada, 1973.

Deehy, Patrick T. The Halfway House in the Correctional Sequence: A Case Study of a Transitional Residence for Inmates of a State Reformatory. Doctoral dissertation, Princeton University, 1969, published by University Microfilms, Inc., Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1970.

Cost Analysis of Correctional Standards: Halfway Houses. Standards and Goals Project, Correctional Economics Center of the American Bar Association, Washington, D.C., November 1975.

* U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1976 O - 241-093 (2126)